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**Principles of composition in Near Eastern Glyphic of the later second
Millennium B.C.**

Matthews, Donald M

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DONALD M. MATTHEWS
PRINCIPLES OF COMPOSITION IN NEAR EASTERN GLYPTIC
OF THE LATER SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

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1983–84: excavations in Iraq (Tell Mohammed ‘Arab) and Syria (Tell Brak).

1984–88: research for PhD at Cambridge University on cylinder seals.

1988: Abu Salabikh excavations, Iraq.

1988–89: work on preparing the PhD thesis for publication.

1989–90: study of seal impressions on Kassite tablets at the University Museum, Philadelphia.

1990: excavations in Syria (Tell Brak).

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DONALD M. MATTHEWS

PRINCIPLES OF COMPOSITION
IN NEAR EASTERN GLYPHTIC
OF THE LATER SECOND
MILLENNIUM B.C.

UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG FREIBURG SCHWEIZ
VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT GÖTTINGEN

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To F.C.P.

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Preface.

The later second millennium BC remains the least well understood period in the history of the cylinder seal. This book is an attempt to use the facilities provided by a computer database to contribute to the debate. By allowing great flexibility in the handling of large quantities of information it makes it very much easier to try to disentangle the general principles of composition from the many accidental factors. I have deliberately tried to cite as many seals as possible, because in the existing literature one is too often forced to take an author's word that certain seals are typical of larger classes, without having any easy means of checking. As a result a triple system of reference has been necessary, which is explained on p. 119. Fundamental progress has been made in many aspects of the field during the last thirty years, and in consequence all earlier publications, and several recent ones, are seriously misleading. I have therefore thought it worthwhile to include an index to the seals so that my opinion on each one may easily be found. Extensive use is made of a descriptive code covering human attributes and animal horns, which is summarised on Plate I. The reader is recommended to make a photocopy of this plate and to have it to hand while reading the text.

This book is an adaptation of a PhD thesis submitted to Cambridge University in January 1988. The main changes are a new set of illustrations, the removal of the original Chapter 4 on Common Mitannian and the insertion of a new chapter 2 on Old Babylonian. The PhD research was done between October 1984 and January 1988, and was financed by a Major Scottish Studentship from the Scottish Education Department. The research for chapter 2 and the other new material was prepared between July 1988 and June 1989 and was partly financed by grants from the Johns Fund, Cambridge and the Wainwright Fund, Oxford. The main institutions in which I have worked are the Archaeology Department, the Faculty of Oriental Studies, the Computer Laboratory and Girton College, Cambridge; and the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum. The staff of all of these have given me invaluable assistance.

During this time I have received help from many people without which the work would not have been possible and to whom I am very grateful. Much of this help has been with the illustrations for which acknowledgments are given below. Mr. Nicholas Postgate suggested the topic and supervised the research, showing himself an ideal supervisor, always ready to help with problems both in the research and in the attendant bureaucracy. Without his support and encouragement it would have been quite impossible for the work to have achieved anything. Dr. Dominique Collon's efforts on my behalf have been second only to Mr. Postgate's, most notably in help with access to the British Museum collection and to the rare books in her own possession, and in supplying the necessary specialist criticism. The thesis was examined by Dr. Joan Oates and Dr. Roger Moorey, who had many constructive comments to make both during and after the examination. To Dr. Oates I owe much help in first putting me in the way of acquiring the background experience in Britain and in the Middle East essential to conducting research of this kind. Dr. Moorey gave me every assistance in the Ashmolean Museum on a short visit to Oxford in the spring of 1989; I am also indebted to Mr. St. John Simpson and Miss Susan Gill for help on that occasion. I am further indebted to Dr. Moorey for putting me in touch with the Biblisches Institut, and to Mme H. Keel-Leu and Professor Keel for undertaking the publication. They have agreed to all of my requests and have done much to help me improve the appearance of the text.

The text was produced by me using the GCAL text processing package, whose designers deserve the thanks normally accorded to a typist. I have also to thank numerous Advisors in the Computer Laboratory, especially Dr. John Dawson of the Language and Linguistics Computing Laboratory, and DAS7 who gave me the program for setting the Index in double columns. Apart from the specific help described in the Picture Acknowledgments I would like to thank Dr. Collon, Mme Keel-Leu and Dr. Oates for general editorial advice which has done much to improve the appearance of this version compared to the thesis. Mr. Peter Boorman and Mr. Gwil Owen gave me advice on photography, and Miss Jessica Hale and Dr. C.A. Shell enabled me to take some photographs in the Archaeology Department, which were printed by Mr. Mike Clifford.

Further help on various matters was supplied by Mr Malcolm Mladenovic, Professor Brinkman, Professor Porada, Dr. Irving Finkel, Dr. A.R. Green, Dr. Diana Stein, Professor W.G. Lambert and Dr. Lamia al-Gailani Werr. I would also like to thank Mrs. Alison Wilson, and I must further tender not so much thanks as apologies to those of my friends who have had to endure disquisitions on sigillographic minutiae over the years, most particularly my parents.

Since this book was finished I have been working on the Kassite material in the University Museum, Philadelphia. The results of this will be published elsewhere, but some of the drawings here have been replaced with new ones (the reader should note especially that 30 and 128 are impressions of the same seal). The text has not been altered to take account of the new information.

Picture Acknowledgments

Access to sources

I have encountered the greatest generosity from publishers without whose willingness to waive reproduction fees I would have been unable to have assembled so many seals. These are:

Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

(nos. 352, 363, 367, 370, 395, 397, 398, 400, 408, 426, 525, 557, 560);

Gebr. Mann Verlag;

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I would like to thank Dr. U. Moortgat-Correns, Professor Dr. D.O. Edzard, Dr. C. Wilcke, Dr. M. Schroeder, Dr. J.A. Larson, Dr. F. Redecker, Dr. D. Collon and Dr. H. Hunger for their help with copyright correspondence.

Apart from no. 157, all of the drawings from original seals were made in the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum. I am very grateful to Dr. Dominique Collon and Dr. Roger Moorey and to the authorities and staff of the museums for allowing me to work in them and for giving me every assistance. Professor Porada generously allowed me to pre-empt her publication of the British Museum seals. Dr. Bahija Khalil Ismail kindly allowed me to study no. 157 in the Iraq Museum. Many of the other drawings have been improved by reference to the photographs sent to me, for which see below. Dr. Andrzej Reiche of the Muzeum Narodone, Warsaw, allowed me to publish no. 245 when I had the good fortune to meet him in Baghdad; Dr. Collon had previously put me in touch with him.

Line drawings

For the most part, the line drawings are either reproduced from publications or are made by me from original seals and published or unpublished photographs or drawings.

Dr. Dominique Collon gave me the drawings of nos. 131, 322, 325, 361, 420, 431, 449, 481, 482, 507, 516, 527-530, 532, 533, 536, 568, 571-573, 577, 580, 585, 586, 588, 590, 614 and 625.

Dr. Diana Stein made the drawings of nos. 591, 621, 623, 625 and 626.

Professor E. Negahban sent me the drawing of no. 261.

Mme H. Keel-Leu contributed nos. 302, 329 and 359.

Photographs

It is a pleasant duty to record the great generosity prevalent among the present glyptic community. All of my requests for photographs found a ready response and the greater part of them were supplied free of charge.

Dominique Collon pillaged her files mercilessly to provide me with nos. 15, 17, 35, 46, 78, 86-88, 118, 122, 124, 126, 145, 152, 153, 164, 188, 218, 249, 276, 285, 287, 412, 416, 481, 482, 508, 511, 518, 519, 533, 537, 542, 547, 549, 551, 561, 563, 566, 568, 576, 592, 599, 600, 602, 609, 614.

Professor Porada went to considerable trouble to supply me with the magnificent photographs of nos. 4, 22, 59, 60, 65, 73, 97, 102, 129, 130, 137, 138, 140, 142, 148, 159, 168, 186, 189, 210, 289, 300, 332, 345, 346, 364, 369, 380, 396, 434, 437, 441, 445, 480, 493, 495, 526. She tells me that they were printed without charge by Mr. David A. Loggie, photographer at the Pierpont Morgan Library, and by his assistant Mr. Edward J. Sowinski. I am very much obliged to them.

These two collections give a solid basis of British Museum, Morgan Library and Thebes seals without which it would have been impossible to make up a satisfactory compilation. Dr. Collon's contribution also contains many seals from unusual sources which do much to complement and supplement the classic pieces. This is also true of the smaller collections which were very kindly supplied by:

Dr. P.R.S. Moorey of the Ashmolean Museum: nos. 16, 44, 96, 101, 114, 135, 154, 212, 339, 341, 439, 447, 452;

Univ.-Doz. Dr. E. Bleibtreu of the Institut für Orientalistik, Wien: nos. 29, 291, 365;

Professor W.G. Lambert, University of Birmingham: nos. 45, 89, 115, 121, 423, 479, 491;

Mette Korsholm, Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities, National Museum of Denmark (photography Lennart Larsen): nos. 50, 120, 125, 167, 173, 342;

Mme H. Keel-Leu, Biblisches Institut, Fribourg, Switzerland: nos. 79, 112, 207;

Lady Mallowan: nos. 80, 299;

Dr. J.G. Westenholz, Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem: nos. 144 (photo credit W.C. Pratt), 388, 429 (photo credit B. Boyle);

Ms Beatrice Teissier, Wolfson College, Oxford: nos. 340, 430;

Professor E. Negahban, University of Pennsylvania: no. 350.

1. The cylinder seals of the Late Bronze Age.

1.1 Introduction.

The second millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia has been of considerably greater interest to historians than it has been to archaeologists, and in consequence our view of it has been coloured by the irregularities in the evidence of the texts. This is partly a matter of the Mesopotamians' own view of history as a recurrent cycle, each cycle being characterised by a different dynasty; and thus we have the Isin-Larsa, Old Babylonian, Kassite and Isin II periods in Babylonia. Unlike the third millennium, where the Agade and Ur III dynasties were both marked by significant changes in all aspects of culture, the dynastic succession in our period had virtually no impact on cultural development. The rise of Assyria in the fourteenth century, which is apparently an exception, was certainly a major political event; but it did not involve a dynastic change, and the state myth of Assur was one of political continuity in the long term.¹

The periodic view of the historians has been confirmed by the poor archaeological methods of the great excavations and the accidental nature of the surviving epigraphic evidence, which have combined to give us 'Dark Ages' at intervals, about which we know virtually nothing. There is a Dark Age in the middle of the millennium in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and another at the end of the millennium in the tenth, eleventh and to some extent the twelfth centuries. These two Dark Ages define our era, known in Mesopotamia as the Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian period, and in the Levant as the Late Bronze Age. The picture which this formulation gives us is, however, fundamentally misleading.

In the Aegean and the Levant a catastrophe occurred at the end of the Late Bronze Age which extinguished the Hittite and Mycenaean civilisations and ushered in some centuries in which the level of material culture was appreciably lower than it had been before. In Egypt the bombastic descriptions of the defeat of the 'Peoples of the Sea' at Medinet Habu have encouraged the view that, except in Egypt, civilisation everywhere collapsed before a colossal organised onslaught of the barbarians, though as in the fifth and seventh centuries A.D. the weakness of the civilised powers may have been more significant than the strength of their enemies. The almost complete lack of evidence from Mesopotamia during this period, apart from some indications of incursions by Aramaean nomads, seems to imply that Mesopotamia participated in the disaster. Substitute Kassites and Hurrians for Sea Peoples and Aramaeans and the same picture can be projected onto the earlier Dark Age.

The most striking thing about these two Dark Ages in Mesopotamia, unlike in Greece and Anatolia, or the progenitor of the idea of the Dark Age, early mediaeval western Europe, is the small amount of cultural change with which they are associated. The main theme of this study is that the great cultural transition of the second millennium in Mesopotamia took place not in either Dark Age, but in the full glare of the Amarna period in the fourteenth century. The thing that needs to be explained about the Dark Ages is not why they occurred, but why so little happened during them. If we did not have the evidence of the texts it would be hard to believe that they could have lasted for so long.

The picture we get of ancient culture differs quite markedly according to the source of the evidence. For instance, the repertory of symbols used on the cylinder seals in our period is quite different from that of the boundary stones, yet both are derived from long-standing Babylonian traditions, and there is no obvious reason why they were differentiated. In this study I take culture as a means of expression which has its own rules and which is worth studying for its own sake for what it can tell us about a remarkable epoch in human history. It is less useful to think of an archetypal culture, corresponding to some unitary 'society', of which we have more or less perfect evidence, than of many concurrent traditions which we can apprehend to varying degrees. The rise of the boundary stone in the thirteenth century, for instance, brings a cultural tradition back to our notice after a period of several centuries of invisibility. Nonetheless we may legitimately concentrate on those aspects of culture which are particularly well attested, as in them we are less likely to be led astray by the vagaries of the evidence. We require however not just large quantities of material, but also information which contains internal differences which we can hope to interpret profitably. In this respect two aspects of culture, the texts and the cylinder seals, stand out, as the variation in other common things such as beads or pottery is not so open to analysis and in this period has been less thoroughly studied.

The dominant characteristic of our period is of different cultures in contact. There is no primary artistic style, like the Babylonian in the earlier part of the millennium or the Assyrian in the next period; and though there is an international language, Akkadian, it is not native to either of the two greatest political powers, Egypt

¹ Though they recognised that there had been occasional usurpations.

See Lambert 1976, 87-91 for a tablet too broken to understand fully, which shows clearly that a Middle Assyrian king, probably Tukulti-Ninurta I, justified his conduct by reference to his remote predecessors, perhaps (if Lambert is correct) at the expense of his immediate forebears.

and Hatti, and does not therefore act as an agent of uniformity.² In no other period of Mesopotamian history were so many essentially independent cultures so closely aware of each other, and it is this that gives our era its fascination. The signs of international contact can be seen in many different aspects of culture (Smith 1965). The traditional view, that both language and material culture are direct expressions of ethnicity, so that linguistic or cultural differences necessarily reflect ethnic distinctions, is clearly false. Our two primary sources of evidence, the linguistic and the glyptic, may each easily be divided into provinces, by language and by style respectively. These provinces do not correspond. The Hurrian linguistic region, for instance, is smaller than the area with Mitannian seals. The archives of Ugarit alone constitute a branch of Semitic literature in its own right; the glyptic of Ugarit, which is unusually well attested, has to be sure some local peculiarities, but is considerably less singular within the Mitannian province than that of Kirkuk. The texts, because they are more numerous and are more easily understood, form our fundamental picture of the period; but it is important to appreciate that it is not the only one, and in consequence that no unitary idea of ethnicity is likely to be helpful.

Another attractive approach is that cultural differences represent political developments. There is much evidence for this. The Hittite conquest of Syria in the fourteenth century resulted in the production of a Hittite style of cylinder seal. There are, however, severe difficulties. Egyptian artistic influence on the Levant is profound; but it is small in relation to Egyptian political predominance in the fifteenth century and does not show the kind of influence outside the area of Egyptian control that Assyrian art did in the early first millennium in Babylonia, Urartu and the Aramaean states of Syria. The rise of the independent power of Assur in the fourteenth century is exactly paralleled by the rise of an independent Assyrian style in art, but as I shall show a similar development took place at the same time in Babylonia, which was then in political decline.

The theme of this study is that this change represents a transition in the history of Mesopotamian art of greater importance than any other between the origin of the Akkadian style in the mid third millennium and the fall of Mesopotamian civilisation in the mid first millennium. Seen in the long term, it was a change from a Babylonian to an Assyrian standard in art. At the beginning of our period, the Babylonian standard was still flourishing throughout Mesopotamia, but in a number of disjointed local styles which can only be understood in terms of the more unified Babylonian canon of the earlier part of the millennium. A summary study of this canon is therefore given before a more detailed investigation of the Babylonian and Assyrian glyptic of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. But first a brief survey of the styles and of the theoretical problems involved should be given.

1.2 The glyptic styles of the later second millennium B.C.

The number of known designs of this time is small compared to some other periods, especially the earlier second millennium, where Old Babylonian alone is far more common than all of the later second millennium styles combined. The most important source is Nuzi, with about 1000 published designs.³ I am aware of about 2500 other designs from other sites and collections, not including Cypriote seals. I have not attempted to collect these systematically but there must be about 500 of them.⁴ 4000 seals may appear to be quite a considerable number, but about half of them are Mitannian, and there are so many other styles that the evidence for any particular detail within one of them is usually very limited.

There are six primary groups of seals: Cypriote, Levantine, Mitannian, Assyrian, Kassite and Elamite; and there are also some fine rare styles which are heavily influenced by outside cultures: Egyptianising, Hittite and Aegeanising. This list is still only a very broad outline as every one of these styles has basic subdivisions which may have little in common and can be subdivided further.

This means that except for some Mitannian styles it is impossible to obtain a balanced picture from any single source. This has two consequences which determine the form of this book. The first is that single publications do not form an adequate introduction to the subject. Traditionally major catalogues have been regarded as basic works of reference. This is appropriate where a single catalogue contains examples of every significant group.⁵ There is no catalogue of this kind for our period. Inevitably, though works such as Porada 1948a or Buchanan 1966 draw on the most impressive scholarship they can only comment on features in the collections in hand. The former, for instance, is the most important published collection of actual Middle Assyrian seals, but there are still only twenty of them so little real advance in our understanding can be

² Cf. the eight different languages attested at Hattusa (Gurney 1952, 117).

³ Not counting those studied by Dr. Stein which I have not been able to take account of.

⁴ This total of about 4000 published designs may be expected to increase substantially in the next few years. Apart from Dr. Stein's considerable expansion of the Nuzi corpus, both Ugarit and Emar will contribute over 500 more designs (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 7, Beyer 1980, 61). Large new private collections are published from time to time, such as the Marcopoli Collection, and there are still some major unpublished museum collections, most prominently that of the Iraq Museum.

⁵ e.g. for Old Babylonian, Collon 1986a; for Old Syrian, Teissier 1984.

expected. What is required is general treatments of the various styles. There are some fine examples of these (e.g. Beran 1957-8), but they do not cover the whole field and most of them are by now out of date because a great deal of new material of crucial importance has been published in the last couple of decades. Such studies are inevitably likely to be deficient in cross-cultural aspects, but no really detailed overall account of the period has yet superseded that of Frankfort (1939).⁶ In consequence I have had to include much more extensive descriptions of the styles than I intended originally; but in order to leave space in what has to be a short work overall for the analysis which is the main subject of the research I have not been able to give a proper 'text-book' coverage.

There are four Babylonian styles, *First*, *Second*, *Third* and *pseudo-Kassite*. These are all fully described in the Kassite chapter.⁷

The Middle Assyrian style has two major phases. *Mature Assyrian* is much more common, lasting from c.1300-1100 BC. This is analysed in the Assyrian chapter. *Early Assyrian*, in the fourteenth century, is not just a transition between Mitannian and mature Assyrian, as its main features are quite distinct from both. As very little new material has appeared since Beran's account of it (1957) I have not attempted to analyse it.⁸ The only significant collections of *Elamite* seals are in Porada 1970 and Amiet 1972. The style still remains little understood as there is not much dating evidence. Elamite is only considered here in passing, especially with respect to pseudo-Kassite and Assyrian ritual scenes.

The most complicated problem concerns the only really numerous style, *Mitannian*. The question is discussed in the next section; here it may be remarked that the style does not really exist except as a series of more or less related sub-styles. As the major source, Nuzi, shows more local peculiarities than any other site it should only be used as a type with due caution. There are several styles related to Common Mitannian which have individual features, such as 581 etc.; the contest scenes in the style of 571, 572, 573; Nuzi Groups I (578-580); and II (574, 575); and the extremely simplified Ugaritic style of 576 and 577.

The western non-Mitannian styles are not a main subject of this book. Even more than Mitannian, *Levantine* is a set of disparate parts, few of them with any very pronounced identity. Most of them are sub-Mitannian (e.g. 566, 567, 568) or sub-Assyrian (e.g. 481, 482, 569, 570), that is to say they display features borrowed from these styles with a crude execution and no real understanding of how they should be used. There are good collections of Levantine seals in Ash 1000-1029 and Marcopoli 648-675.⁹ Lists of *Hittite* seals (e.g. 496, 497, 562-565), which come from Hittite-dominated Syria rather than Anatolia, may be found in Porada 1981-2, 45-9 and Beckman 1981, 131. The most important sources are Ugarit and Emar.¹⁰ I do not know how to distinguish *Egyptianising* seals of this period and presume that knowledge of Egyptian iconography would be required to make much headway with them.¹¹

The island of *Cyprus* adopted the cylinder seal in our period and produced an astonishing variety of different styles, which are largely independent of Asiatic developments.¹² Cyprus was the only region in the later second millennium to continue the practice of engraving the best styles almost exclusively in haematite, but fine Cypriote (e.g. 553-558) is a local product.¹³ There are also many Cypriote seals in soft stone of coarse or intermediate quality. Cypriote inscriptions can occur both on Cypriote and Aegeanising seals (e.g. 552, 555) or occasionally perhaps as a secondary addition to seals of other styles such as 589. Two particularly

⁶ This work cannot be recommended to anyone not thoroughly conversant with the material, though if the necessary corrections are made it remains remarkably penetrating.

⁷ The best collection of First Kassite seals is in the British Museum, with some 35 examples. Many of these are published in scattered sources. The best published collections are: CANES 570-583, BN 293-300, Louvre A598-A606, Philadelphia 542-549, 552-557, 561-566, Nuzi 683-706 and de Clercq 253-267. The only major source for Second Kassite is Thebes 26-34. The only important collection of Third Kassite seals is in the British Museum, but they are all of low quality and many of them are not published. UEX 585-593 is representative. There is a useful collection of sketches in Trokay 1981. My use of 'pseudo-Kassite' is not the same as that of Porada (1970), from whom I take the term; the best sources are Choga Zanbil 1-24 and Failaka 398-422.

⁸ The basic sources for mature Assyrian are the four great collections of impressions, 12 and 13 Glyptik (Assur), Iraq 39 (Rimah) and Fakhariyah. The best collection of actual seals is the 30 or so examples in the British Museum, largely unpublished; the next best are CANES 592-609 and VR 579-582, 586-594, 630, 688. 278-292, 464-467, 474-477, 486-488 are representative of early Assyrian glyptic.

⁹ These two catalogues contain the best discussions of them; see also the Adana catalogue and Mazzoni 1986. When the soft stone seals from Ugarit are published we may expect to make further progress.

¹⁰ Ugaritica III figs. 30-70; Emar 14, 15, 19, 22; Beyer 1982a, figs. 11, 13; Laroche 1982.

¹¹ Some examples: Collon AOAT 194, Collon BAR 118, RS 3.041, Webb 1987, no. 3, Marcopoli 646, 647, 653, Hama fig. 191, Ash 1008-1013, Kenna BM 94, Damascus 59, 62, HSS XIV 287, CANES 1001, 1003, Frankfort 1939, pl.44 p-u.

¹² See Mazzoni 1986 for some connections with Levantine seals.

¹³ For a general study and a list of seals see Kenna 1972; also Porada 1948b, Mazzoni 1986, Webb 1987, 25-32 and Kenna 1971. The last does not cover the Western Asiatic Antiquities department in the British Museum, which has some 20 Cypriote seals. There are about 25 fine Cypriote seals from Ugarit in the haematite section of Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, and there are several from other Asiatic sites, e.g. the Fakhariyah impression 557. See also e.g. Ash 953-986, Thebes 1-10, Enkomi 3-13, Louvre A1177-A1198.

interesting minor styles are the 'broad-shouldered style' (e.g. 559, 560, 561)¹⁴ and the *Aegeanising* seals, such as 552, which link oriental glyptic with the splendid works of the Minoans and Mycenaeans.¹⁵

1.3 The Mitannian Problem.

1.3.1 Introduction.

The classification of glyptic styles in general use is primarily geographical, so that for example the only thing that First and Third Kassite have in common is that both are located in Babylonia. The class of seals called 'Mitannian', however, though recognisable, is virtually undefinable. It cannot simply be related to a geographic region, because the areas which are central to the style also produced the Assyrian and Levantine seals. Nor can it easily be described in stylistic terms, because the diversity within Mitannian is so enormous.

Any style worthy of the name will form its designs according to a series of principles which might be called a 'grammar' or 'structure'. This structure may simply exist as an end in itself, or it may be a vehicle for something else, much as the structure of a sentence serves as a medium to carry its meaning. The structure, moreover, may either consist of a series of productive 'rules' capable of generating a large number of actual designs, like a grammar, or a finite set of ideal types for imitation, like a book of proverbs. The former case obviously supplies a much greater scope for originality in the user. If there are 'rules' they may either be followed one by one, more or less without reference to each other, or may be part of a structured design in which there are not just individual rules but also some conception of the unity of the whole.

Thinking in this way, and characterising rather coarsely, we may say that the Levantine seals suffer from a deficiency of structure, that the glyptic of Elam is unimaginatively imitative, and that the Assyrian style, and to some extent the Second Kassite, possess an excellent organic unity between the whole and its parts. The First Kassite style is a highly structured means of conveying ideas important to its makers, but the designs lack originality and an overall *artistic* conception. The Mitannian style is then the most extreme case of an extensive use of structure largely for decorative purposes, often original and imaginative, but with little overall meaning to the designs, either artistic or with reference to some other conceptual system. This is most true in those Mitannian styles which are least dependent on Babylonian and Syrian forerunners.

1.3.2 Terminology

No further comments can be made on Mitannian seals without some classification of the style. This involves a difficult discussion, the more so as the terminology in general use is misleading to the unwary. The situation is indeed so confusing that as there is still no authoritative general statement to use as a starting point, and as many standard reference works adhere to outdated schemes, it is worth giving a brief account of the course of events.

In the twenties the existence of two groups of seals, the 'Syro-Hittite' (Hogarth 1920) and the Kirkuk group (Contenau 1926), was well enough understood, though little was known about either. In 1939 Frankfort, in 'Cylinder Seals', attempted a synthesis which seemed reasonable at the time, but has not lasted well since. Frankfort observed that the seal of Saushtatar (591) had certain features in common with both the Syro-Hittite and the Kirkuk seals, and thus attempted to use it as a type-fossil for both styles (1939, 262-6), although it is actually typical of neither. In fact this impression has had throughout the most pernicious effect on glyptic studies. Saushtatar is himself only very weakly dated, as the exact filiation of the Mitannian dynasty is unknown (Weidner 1969, 519-21): all that one can really say is that he must be earlier than about 1400. Saushtatar is attested in two tablets from Alalakh on which he used a seal of a predecessor (Collon AOAT 230), and in the inscription of his own seal which is known from impressions on tablets from Nuzi and Tell Brak.¹⁶ The Brak tablets were written for his successors Artashumara and Tushratta, so we cannot assume that the Nuzi tablet, whose author is unknown, belongs to him. The confusion is compounded by the fact that the 'Saushtatar Letter' (HSS IX 1) is not only the main chronological indicator for Mitannian glyptic, but is also one of the very few pieces of evidence for the dating of the vast Nuzi archive, which is the largest source of texts and of seal-impressions in our period. I am much obliged to Dr. Diana Stein for sending me a copy of her forthcoming article which clears up the problem and states what we can at present infer depending on various assumptions. The Alalakh IV archive (i.e. prior to the destruction of the palace of Niqmepa) is in every case earlier than the Nuzi archive, by one to four generations, though some overlap is probable. The traditional

¹⁴ See Porada 1981-2, 16-19 and Amiet in Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 18-21. I assign the style to Syria rather than Cyprus, partly because it looks Asiatic from the point of view of a Cypriote specialist (Kenna 1971, 22 s.v. no. 36), but more because there are not enough fine Syrian styles and too many Cypriote ones.

¹⁵ See Pini 1979. There are also many Mitannian seals which have been excavated in the Aegean: for a useful collection of the Common Mitannian ones see Pini 1983.

¹⁶ Finkel 1985, 194, Collon 1987, 128, fig. 548.

dating of Nuzi by equation with Alalakh (where there are some external dating indications) thus has to be modified.

'Saushtatar' caused the Kirkuk style to be dated too high, and the Syro- Hittite too low. Frankfort devised three Syrian styles. The earliest he correctly attached to Old Babylonian. Second Syrian he linked to Saushtatar, and thus to the middle of the millennium, while he placed Third Syrian in the later second millennium. This scheme was used by Porada in the Morgan Library catalogue, but she (1957) and Buchanan (1957) later found that both First and Second Syrian dated to before 1600 BC. They are conveniently classed together as 'Old Syrian'.¹⁷ This style has since been placed on a sound footing¹⁸ and work is now in progress identifying the workshops involved.¹⁹ Meanwhile in 1947 the fundamental study of Kirkuk or 'Mitannian' glyptic was published by Porada, a work which has never even been approached by any other treatment of the Mitannian style, either in the number of topics discussed or in the variety and quantity of material presented. The success of this book, however, has had the rather unfortunate effect of establishing Nuzi as the type- site for the Mitannian style, although it shows much stronger local peculiarities than the other main sites, all of which were published subsequently. Only Assur shows a strong similarity to Nuzi, so much so that it is justifiable to see a continuous development from the special features of Nuzi glyptic to the origin of the Middle Assyrian style, as was suggested by Beran (1957, 200-215: see e.g. 450-480). In fact, as the Assur publication is incomplete and concentrates on this development it is likely that there are also many Assur impressions belonging to less pregnant Nuzi styles, as in the actual seals from the site.²⁰

Porada's classification proceeded on two principles. First there is the distinction between Common and Elaborate.²¹ Then we find: 'Those of the Common Style are grouped mainly according to similarity in the engraving. Principal motives and predominant iconographical figures were given secondary consideration...'. As ancient seal-impressions are rarely very good, it is difficult to see many of the details, and the use of the second principle does not facilitate the particular interest of this study which is the analysis of composition. Kantor distinguished a particular 'Depleted' class of Common Mitannian seals.²² This category is accepted by Beck, but she sees it as a geographical rather than a chronological distinction.²³

'Common' and 'Elaborate' involve three different dimensions (cf. Beran 1957, 186). 'Common' as a term speaks of an ordinary *quality* of cutting, as opposed to fine engraving. 'Elaborate', on the other hand, refers to the *complexity* of the design, and should be contrasted to 'simple'. Third, Common is identified with soft *materials* and faience, and Elaborate with hard stone, as stated above. A fourth dimension, that of *orderliness*, is hinted at by Porada (1947, 12): Common is schematic and repetitive, Elaborate is careful but varied.

1.3.3 Material

If we classify Mitannian seals by material, we find that soft stone, such as 'glazed steatite', is actually quite unusual, and tends to be used in exactly the same way as faience.²⁴ Moreover they can be confused in publications.²⁵ There is a large class of Syrian seals in soft stone²⁶ but these are not usually counted as 'Mitannian', and are not worth studying until the very large number from Ugarit have been published. These 'Levantine' seals represent the combination 'low quality, soft stone and disorderly' which is not found in true Mitannian seals. It is important to distinguish between regular elements and an orderly composition. Levantine seals have neither; Mitannian seals in faience have both, while many hard stone Mitannian designs have regular elements in a disorderly composition.

If we then describe the Mitannian materials as either faience or hard stone or impressions,²⁷ we find the following distribution. Faience seals are found throughout the Near Eastern world in small numbers, even where

¹⁷ I use this term following Özgüç 1968, 53 to refer to the whole Syrian development of the Old Babylonian period. Porada 1980a, 17, however, uses it for the Syro-Cappadocian or 'Old Syrian Colony' (Teissier 1984, 69) style, to express an older phase of the Syrian style. But to use just 'Syrian' for the main phase is unfortunate as it is liable to lead to confusion between geographical and stylistic meanings and makes it difficult to refer to Syrian work in other periods. Lambert (1984, 119) objects to 'Old Syrian'.

¹⁸ Collon 1975, Teissier 1984.

¹⁹ e.g. Collon 1982b. The 'Third Syrian' style, which included many Cypriote seals (Frankfort 1939, 289-91), has quietly disappeared.

²⁰ VR 564-6, 568, 571-4, 576-7.

²¹ 1947, 12: 'glazed steatite or fayence were almost exclusively used for seals of the Common Style which usually show schematic, often coarse engraving; whereas hematite, jasper and similarly hard materials were employed for the cylinders of the Elaborate style which present more careful and varied carving.'

²² 1958, 83: advanced, as it happens, in a publication almost entirely devoted to Assyrian impressions.

²³ Beck 1967, 114-6; Porada 1980a, 11-2.

²⁴ e.g. Iraq 11-35, 104.

²⁵ e.g. BM 160279-160282 are faience seals from Lachish, described in Iraq 11 (nos. 103, 100, 113, 91) as limestone and steatite.

²⁶ e.g. 567, Damascus 55-83, Marcopoli 650-673, Ash 1001-1029.

²⁷ Where of course the material is unknown.

the dominant style is not Mitannian.²⁸ They are found in large numbers in the western sites, Beth Shan, Alalakh and especially Ugarit, but no eastern site has more than the twenty or so from Rimah. They are relatively rare in collections. Hard stone seals on the other hand have never been found in substantial numbers in an excavation: even at Ugarit few are of a specifically Mitannian character,²⁹ and elsewhere there are only sporadic instances.³⁰ Hard stone Mitannian seals are very common in collections.³¹ This discrepancy may be due to the better survival of hard stone on the surface of tells, or in local use before entering the antiquities market; or to a preference for them on the part of collectors, as faience seals are usually discoloured, crumbly and unattractive.

Mitannian impressions are actually rather rare. There are some from Alalakh, mostly heavily dependent on Old Syrian; a large number from Emar, almost entirely still unpublished; some from Ugarit;³² an important series from Assur, whose peculiarities were mentioned above; and some scattered cases.³³ And then there is Nuzi. The actual seals from Nuzi form a miserable little collection, such as one might expect to find in a minor Palestinian site or somewhere outside the Mitannian region.³⁴ The impressions, on the other hand, exceed in number all other published Mitannian designs from all sources, or indeed those of any other style of this period.

If we now look at the other three dimensions given above, it will be found that the distinction between Nuzi and the other sites in material holds good for them as well. It is therefore difficult in any particular instance to say which dimension is mainly responsible.

1.3.4 Quality

Fine engraving as a dimension is in practice dependent on the use of hard stone, as 'elaborate' cutting in faience is rare.³⁵ The shortage of hard stone seals from excavations therefore means that there is no way of assessing the distribution of good-quality styles. One can compare the Alalakh impressions with those from Nuzi, and there is certainly a difference. When Nuzi makes use of Syrian motives (Group XVIII) there is more of the orderly composition of Group XVII, while some of the Alalakh sealings show a disorder which in Nuzi Group XXI is not combined with specifically Syrian elements.³⁶ Often the general conception is well-balanced, but there is a looseness of detail³⁷ which is the very antithesis of the perfection in such matters displayed by the earliest Assyrian seals and some of their Nuzi ancestors.³⁸

The difference between Alalakh and Nuzi may be due either to the geographical or the chronological distinction between them. With archives of impressions there is always also the problem of whether the styles present are really indigenous.³⁹

Although fine engraving must usually be on hard stone, the converse does not follow. There are many seals in collections in hard stone with schematic cutting, though of a kind unrelated to that of the faience seals.⁴⁰ Most of the excavated hard stone seals are of this type.⁴¹ At Nuzi, there is a large group with animals or monsters flanking a standard, (Group XXV: e.g. 592) but otherwise these seals, and especially the numerous

²⁸ e.g. Enkomi, the Talyche, Susa, Choga Zanbil, Nippur and Ur.

²⁹ 539, RS 2.001, 11.226, 17.024, 20.043, 23.001, 25.183. There may be others still unpublished in hard stones other than haematite.

³⁰ e.g. Collon BAR 94-6, VR 577, Byblos 1658, 6457, Hama fig. 189B, Webb 1987, no. 5, Iraq 11-107, 121, Iraq 37-29, Fakhariyah XLV.

³¹ e.g. CANES 1020-1067, Marcopoli 787-642.

³² e.g. 617, 618. Most published Ugarit impressions (e.g. in Ugaritica III) are not Mitannian, but as there are 90 of them (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 7: the Mitannian ones almost entirely unpublished), they probably include an important Mitannian series.

³³ e.g. Fakhariyah XLVI, Nippur I pl.120:6, Nimrud ND 891, Iraq 39-14C, 15C, 20, 32C, 34, 42A, C, 46, 47.

³⁴ If the example illustrated in Porada 1975, pl.32:8 is anything to go by, we are not missing much in those not published by Starr.

³⁵ e.g. Thebes 19, RS 14.117, 23.433.

³⁶ e.g. 588, Collon AOAT 220-222, 229.

³⁷ e.g. the animals in 588, 590, Collon AOAT 220, the snake in Collon AOAT 221, the little smiting man in Collon AOAT 222, the stag in Collon AOAT 229 (unless due to recutting), the curious 'chariot-man' (?) in Collon AOAT 201, and the rather unhappy positioning of the demons in 586, Collon AOAT 215, 217 so that they dominate only one animal.

³⁸ But which is reminiscent of the seal of Saushtatar (591): e.g. the winged disk is not quite axial, like the little man in Collon AOAT 222; the trailing streamer is like the snake in Collon AOAT 221; the upper dominated animal has trailing hindlegs like the one between the lions in 590; while the central demon has an awkwardness of pose like those of 586, Collon AOAT 215, 217. This similarity does not extend to details in the rendering of forms such as the winged disk or the heads, but I think 591 is much more at home in Alalakh IV than at Nuzi. There may be some conceptual relation to 626 (Porada 1979a) but I do not think their styles have much in common. This is probably because 591 is earlier and closer to Old Syrian.

³⁹ Porada's statement (1974-7, 139) that Syro-Mitannian seals were not at home at Nuzi, while not necessarily untrue, cannot be demonstrated from their rarity among the excavated material, because, as explained above, good quality seals are so rare everywhere that nothing can be inferred about their distribution.

⁴⁰ e.g. CANES 1052-1064, Marcopoli 599-638.

⁴¹ e.g. 594, RS 20.43.

cases with a crude winged demon (e.g. 594), are unknown at Nuzi,⁴² and are therefore probably western (but not Palestinian), and possibly later than Nuzi.⁴³ These seals are more completely divorced from Babylonian and Syrian prototypes than any other Mitannian group, and may thus be seen as at the end of the development. A thirteenth century date, as indicated by 594 from Fakhariyah (if it is contemporary with the tablets), seems plausible, as later on the cultural continuity is disrupted by the beginning of the Iron Age and we might expect to see some Assyrian influences.⁴⁴

1.3.5 Complexity

Thus we find that cutting quality and the material of the seal do not correspond: faience seals are nearly always of ordinary quality, while the hard stone ones may be either coarse or fine. Turning to complexity, we have a gradation from 'depleted' through 'common' to 'elaborate'. Now if the impressions, from Nuzi, Assur and Alalakh, are omitted, we find that the degree of complexity is very similar at all sites, and this degree is quite low. In faience seals, not many are more complicated than 614, RS 25.380, or Iraq 11-128, and there is a sharp distinction between these and simpler faience seals of the kind more typical of excavations. Both of these types occur at Nuzi, but there the whole scale of complexity is much higher, so that a relatively complex faience seal is normal by Nuzi standards. Likewise the sort of hard stone seal normally found in collections is nothing like as complicated as the impressions in Nuzi Group XXI, the apogee of Nuzi elaboration. In addition, the difference between normal complexity and elaboration is much less pronounced at Nuzi than elsewhere. Simple designs on hard stone are common in collections, but they cannot form a bridge between the faience seals and the elaborate hard stone series as they are much less dependent on Babylonian forms than either. At Nuzi, on the other hand, there are 'Common' seals⁴⁵ whose complexity has much more in common with the 'Elaborate' classes than with the actual examples of faience seals known elsewhere. In fact there is an even progression of complexity at Nuzi from Nuzi 76 to the most elaborate Kirkuk style seals (cf. 609-626). Complexity is therefore an unsatisfactory classifying principle, though most stylistic groups will be found to differ in this as in other respects.

Nor is it permissible to say that as the simple irregular hard stone designs are not found at Nuzi, 'hardness' and 'complexity' can be assimilated there. This is because actual examples similar to the elaborate 'Common' impressions are not known in collections, so it is impossible to say what they were made of. This is true also of Nuzi glyptic in general where (as is so often the case) the style is unknown or very rare elsewhere. It is difficult to believe that the fine detail of the best Nuzi impressions, such as in Group XXI, could have been executed in anything other than hard stone, but it must be doubtful what was used for a style such as that of Group I.⁴⁶ Group XV is said (Porada 1947, 40) to be transitional between Common and Elaborate and to use both hard and soft materials, but seals of this kind in collections are nearly always in hard stone⁴⁷ and the transition is if anything not between Common and Elaborate Nuzi styles, but between schematic and complicated engraving on hard stone. The transition could either be chronological, between the fifteenth and thirteenth centuries, or geographical, between east and west: the example from Tell Brak is compatible with both.⁴⁸

1.3.6 Orderliness

If, finally, the dimension of orderliness is considered, it will be found that for the most part faience seals of Mitannian character display a strong feeling for composition. As they are also largely of ordinary quality and are simple in conception, it is reasonable to apply a general term to them, which in current usage is 'Common Mitannian' (e.g. 609, 610). So far as the character of this style in actual seals, found either in excavations or in collections, is concerned, the corpus from Ugarit is a much better standard than the impressions from Nuzi, as the Ugarit seals suffer from none of the peculiarities ascribed above to Nuzi. In fact Nuzi is the only site at which it is difficult to recognise the limits of 'Common Mitannian', as discussed above. The troublesome

⁴² Though cf. 14 Glyptik 68, 102, and BM 89773, apparently from Assyria (Layard). Impressions recently found at Tell Brak to be dated shortly after the end of Nuzi may represent a transition. See Matthews forthcoming, nos. 5 and 6.

⁴³ Even Group XXV is relatively late.

⁴⁴ As in the late seals from Hama.

⁴⁵ e.g. 483, 611, 615, Nuzi 88, 93, 94, 187, 197, 478, 497, 498, 502, 505, 508A, 526, 569, 572.

⁴⁶ RS 21.16 (cf. 578, 579) and RS 22.254 (cf. Nuzi 21, 22) are both in faience, while Brussels 680 and Marcopoli 598 (cf. Nuzi 8) are made of haematite. Porada comes to the same conclusion (1947, 13).

⁴⁷ e.g. 595, Marcopoli 589-595, CANES 1040-1045.

⁴⁸ Mallowan 1947, pl.xxii:11-12 (B819), in soft stone.

⁴⁹ Hard stone in Group XV and elsewhere, e.g. Group I.

⁵⁰ Most Nuzi impressions.

impressions infringe the standard in material,⁴⁹ in complexity,⁵⁰ in quality,⁵¹ and in having much less devotion to well-ordered composition, especially in Groups XII-XV.

In hard stone, we may divide the styles at Nuzi into those which are typical of Mitannian as a whole⁵² and those which are local Kirkuk developments.⁵³ On the whole, the former are orderly, while the latter are disorderly, as exemplified by the contrast between the best seals of the general type⁵⁴ and the specific Kirkuk style.⁵⁵ The genius of the Assyrians was required to combine the purity of conception of the one with the originality of the other, though in a very few pieces⁵⁶ the Nuzi artists moved in that direction.

If these styles are orderly and disorderly arrangements of great complexity on hard stone, then there are also orderly and disorderly simple designs on hard stone, the former present at Nuzi (Group XXV), the latter not found there. Both are common in collections, and so are presumably derived from large regions, but in the absence of pieces with provenance it is difficult to say whether the former is eastern and the latter western, or the former early and the latter late.⁵⁷

It is apparent, therefore, that no such coincidence of quality, complexity and orderliness obtains for hard stone as for faience. There are low quality complex disorderly designs;⁵⁸ simple crude ones, both orderly⁵⁹ and disorderly;⁶⁰ fine complex styles, orderly⁶¹ and disorderly;⁶² and a few fine orderly simple impressions from Nuzi.⁶³ The term 'Elaborate Mitannian' is thus misleading if it is supposed to mean 'Mitannian styles on hard stone' or 'Mitannian styles other than Common', and insufficient and ambiguous if it means 'elaboration in execution or composition'; in my opinion it would be a good thing for this term to be abandoned.

1.3.7 Nuzi and Kirkuk

Although the distribution of hard stone styles cannot be assessed from excavations, for lack of evidence, something can be inferred from their presence in collections. There are many seals in collections belonging to styles heavily dependent on Babylonian and Syrian prototypes,⁶⁴ that is to say to Nuzi Groups XVI-XVIII, and also belonging to the symmetrical type favoured in Group XXV. As Groups XXIII and XXIV are arranged by subject rather than by style, this leaves Groups XX-XXII.⁶⁵ These impressions, Nuzi 709-761a (622, 624), then represent the ultimate Nuzi style, which rarely if ever appears in collections, and thus may be assigned a small total production, as would be expected if it were restricted geographically. The same is true of the fourteenth century style at Assur, of which very few examples have survived. We may thus suggest that most of the hard stone styles at Nuzi represent general Mitannian styles, whose distribution is confined to Nuzi only by the rarity of impressions elsewhere, while Groups XX-XXII are a variant only produced in the immediate vicinity of Kirkuk.

It is worth commending the adherence of German authors, such as Beran, to 'Kirkuk' rather than 'Nuzi' style. As Kirkuk was the capital of the state of Arrapkha, and the most unusual features of Nuzi glyptic are linked to members of the royal family,⁶⁶ it is better to refer to Kirkuk, with the implication of the local region of Arrapkha, than to Nuzi, inviting the assumption either that Nuzi was itself the centre of the local development, or that Nuzi is a good type for Mitannian as whole.⁶⁷

⁵¹ e.g. 483, 611, Nuzi 88, 187, 497, etc.

⁵² Groups XVI-XVIII.

⁵³ Groups XX-XXII.

⁵⁴ e.g. 616, 617, 619.

⁵⁵ At its most extreme in 624, 626, Nuzi 710.

⁵⁶ e.g. 14 Glyptik 108-114.

⁵⁷ It is to be expected that the 500 impressions from Emar (Beyer 1982, 61), when they are published, will do much to clear up the problems involved in Mitannian styles in hard stone.

⁵⁸ Group XV: general distribution, e.g. 595, 596.

⁵⁹ Group XXV: general distribution, e.g. 592.

⁶⁰ CANES 1052-1064, 593, 594, etc.: not at Nuzi.

⁶¹ Groups XVI-XVIII: general distribution, e.g. 616-619.

⁶² Groups XX-XXII: only in the Kirkuk area, e.g. 622, 624, 626.

⁶³ e.g. 468, 485, Nuzi 727.

⁶⁴ e.g. 603, BN 443, 446, 459, 468, 469, VR 567, CANES 1020-1028.

⁶⁵ For Group XIX, which is not Mitannian, see the Kassite chapter.

⁶⁶ 626; HSS XIV in general as the texts are from royal and temple archives: Porada 1975, 164.

⁶⁷ Another term in current use is 'Syro-Mitannian', used by Teissier (1984, 93) as a general term for Mitannian hard-stone seals. Teissier (1984, 377 n29) refers to Porada (1974/7, 139-140), but Porada seems to use it in a more specific sense, since she does not apply it to the hard stone seals from the eastern Mitannian world. It is unclear whether her usage is restricted to seals with very obvious Syrian antecedents, such as CANES 1024-1027, or more generally, but she does subsume it under 'Elaborate' (1980a, 12). If it should eventually become possible to define an elaborate Mitannian style in Syria with clear principles of composition (as opposed to piecemeal recognition of Old Syrian traits) then 'Syro-Mitannian' would be a good name for it.

In the same way claims that two seals were made by the same artist would only be possible if there were some independent knowledge of what the ranges of individual variation should be: there is no guide to what degree of similarity implies the same artist or even the same workshop. One cannot really go further than to say 'these seals are very similar'. For this reason though various groups of seals are discussed in this book no suggestion is made on what they might mean in human terms. This is particularly evident when the sheer number of impressions from Nuzi is taken into account. There is no reason to suppose that seal production was particularly intensive at Nuzi, but the preserved designs constitute about half of the known Mitannian corpus from all sources. Now the stylistic groups identified there by Porada, which presumably corresponded to workshops rather than single cutters (as each group contains considerable variation), do not individually include very many seals - rarely more than a hundred (Group III). Let us assume that all Nuzi seals were made at one centre (either Nuzi or Kirkuk), and that we have a hundred seals from each workshop there. If all glyptic production took place in cities of roughly the importance of Kirkuk, then we might expect the remaining Mitannian seals to have come from perhaps another twenty cities, and if each contained the same number of workshops we would then possess about five examples from each workshop.⁶⁸ But in fact, of course, all of these assumptions tend to make this number too high.⁶⁹ Therefore we may expect to possess much less than five seals from each workshop, and if stylistic groups are identified they are likely to correspond to traditions subsuming several workshops. There is no way of finding out what these vague words 'tradition', 'style' or 'group' really mean, but at least they do not convey the implication of more precision than is justifiable.⁷⁰

1.4 Analysis.

1.4.1 Space.

Another consequence of the rarity of seals of our period is of greater theoretical importance. Of the 4000 or so known designs about a third are from art collections without any provenance, and another quarter come from Nuzi alone. This means that the number of seals with some archaeological context either in space or in time is limited. To consider space first, the number of sites which have produced a reasonable number of seals is quite small, especially as a high proportion of the cases are evidently out of context.⁷¹ Actual seals are always of much lower quality than impressions from the same site (Collon 1982a, 1): indeed some fine styles are almost unknown in extant pieces.⁷² Seals were produced throughout Mesopotamia and Syria, in Cilicia, Palestine, Cyprus and in the plain of Khuzestan. There are no large collections of actual seals from anywhere in Mesopotamia.⁷³ In Elam there are large collections from Susa and Choga Zanbil, while in the west there are substantial finds from Beth Shan, Alalakh and especially Ugarit.⁷⁴ Palestine and Cyprus are the only regions where anything approaching an overall coverage of excavations exists, but these are of minor interest to us compared to the almost untouched region between Emar and Rimah which was the heartland of the Mitannian empire. In Palestine, moreover, such a high proportion of the seals come from the single site of Beth Shan that it is difficult to say whether the local trends are local to Beth Shan or to Palestine as a whole.

There are about 1500 published impressions, whose distribution, though no less uneven than that of the actual seals, is quite different.⁷⁵ To some extent this means that they complement each other, but as they yield different kinds of information⁷⁶ this normally means that one does not know whether differences are between one place and another or just between the types of evidence. This problem is most troublesome in Mitannian

⁶⁸ There are about 1000 impressions published from Nuzi: therefore with 100 seals per workshop there are 10 workshops. Twenty cities with ten workshops each gives 200 workshops. With a total of about 1000 designs known from outside Nuzi, this yields 1000/200 known seals per workshop, or about five.

⁶⁹ There are less than 100 examples from most Nuzi groups; there is no reason to suppose that seals were not made in smaller places like Nuzi; and the length of time in which Mitannian seals were made is not fully covered by Nuzi. Note further that the Porada publication of impressions from the Tehip-tilla archive does not include the whole range as known from other sources such as the Shilwa-teshup archive.

⁷⁰ Compare the calculation in the Kassite chapter.

⁷¹ e.g. the provenance of the Thebes hoard is of great interest in itself but tells us nothing about the original source of the seals. The same goes for the other seals from Greece and presumably at least most of those from Egypt, Anatolia and highland Iran (listed in Dyson and Harris 1986).

⁷² e.g. early Assyrian, fine Hittite and (elaborate) Kirkuk Mitannian.

⁷³ The most prolific sites are Ur and Assur, with about 20 seals apiece. The large quantity at Failaka is thus the more surprising.

⁷⁴ About one third of the Ugarit seals have been published. 200 seals were excavated at Surkh Dum in Luristan, almost entirely unpublished, but some of these are stamp seals (Muscarella 1981b, 328) and presumably many belong to the first millennium.

⁷⁵ The only site from which at least 30 of each has been published is Alalakh. It will some day be joined by Ugarit.

⁷⁶ In particular impressions should at least in theory be more liable to travel (attached to trade goods); but in fact the proportion of stray actual seals does not seem to be any less. I would not be surprised if they had a significant circulation just as souvenirs, perhaps casually acquired by soldiers and merchants. Seals, especially faience ones, are ideally suited for this.

seals, where the actual seals are mostly from the west and the impressions mostly from Nuzi. There are almost no impressions of Cypriote, Levantine or Elamite style, and even in Mesopotamia the impressions are mostly of Mitannian and Assyrian style. However enough impressions can be collected from Nuzi, Nippur, Subeidi and Susa to provide some coverage for all of the Babylonian styles except Third Kassite.

1.4.2 Time.

Although the situation with space is not very satisfactory, it is at least much better than with time.⁷⁷ Even the most muddled archaeologist can usually remember roughly which district his finds came from. Coping with stratigraphy is quite a different matter. Cylinder seals are rare artefacts, and even to find a couple of dozen requires excavation on a larger scale than is usually undertaken today. Unless the excavation covers a great deal of ground, moreover, the best dating may well be no finer than 'later second millennium'. Even if the excavation is well conducted seals are very often stratified in a way that yields no useful information, as they frequently remained in circulation for centuries after they were made,⁷⁸ and sometimes even occur in levels which are too early (Collon 1982a, 2). The only site where there are many stratified seals for which we have a useful appraisal of the evidence is Alalakh, and this only serves to underline how little such information can tell us.⁷⁹ The great disappointment is Ugarit, where the dates proposed are neither credible nor enlightening.⁸⁰ It is hardly too much to say that in this period stratigraphy contributes nothing to our knowledge of glyptic, and it would be a rash archaeologist who attempted to use glyptic to refine his stratigraphy (Collon 1982a, 2). As she says, we might be on firmer ground if someone would excavate a cemetery, as in the third millennium; but useful evidence of this kind is really only available on Cyprus.⁸¹

Seal impressions, on the other hand, do give useful information, and it is from them that the chronological framework has to be constructed.⁸² Here the problem is to some extent the opposite to with the seals. Stratigraphic evidence, when credible, is too approximate to allow one to subdivide the half-millennium. The documentary evidence of impressions on dated texts can be so good that one loses one's sense of proportion. In some cases one can date the use of the seal to the very day. The value of this is limited by two factors. First, as remarked above, seals can have a very long use life. It is unwise to believe that it is possible to obtain a chronology with stages of less than a generation or so, and one should always expect to find a large proportion of survivals at any given time. Second, the absolute chronology has a margin of error of about 20 years in each direction, to which should be added the error which is usually present in relating the texts to it. The Babylonian system of regnal years is less troublesome here than the Assyrian eponyms, as most Middle Assyrian eponyms can only be assigned to the period of a reign at best, but the absolute Babylonian chronology depends on the Assyrian (Brinkman 1976, 30) and thus includes the general errors associated with both. For Nuzi, Dr. Stein has been working out a sophisticated correlation of the generations of several different families, but as the whole archive is only tenuously attached to the general framework the finer subtleties are only of use for studies within the archive.⁸³

As there are no dated or stratified impressions from Susa (Amiet 1972, 265) and most of the ones from

⁷⁷ For the general chronology of Babylonia see Brinkman 1976, 30-1, and for Assyria, Boese and Wilhelm 1979. Brinkman is not persuaded by their low chronology (1983, 70), but the difference at issue is hardly relevant to the scale of definition possible in glyptic.

⁷⁸ e.g. the First Kassite seal 80 was deposited in a cache in the neo-Assyrian Ninurta temple at Nimrud: Parker 1962, 31.

⁷⁹ Collon 1982a: the chronological summary, pp. 8-9, shows that the earliest levels of our period already display nearly all of the variation present in the later ones. The much smaller corpus from Rimah also shows no discernible difference in glyptic style between the levels.

⁸⁰ e.g. a Mitannian seal such as RS 11.226 dated before 1600 BC (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 43); it seems that 'archaeological context' means stylistic rather than stratigraphic context, and this is not worth much respect in the sections not written by Amiet. For a detailed indictment see Collon 1986b. We may also deplore the use of field numbers, rather than a new set of catalogue numbers, which makes referring to Ugarit a cumbersome operation. For an index see Mayer-Opificius 1985.

⁸¹ The graves at Hama yielded regrettably few seals, and most of those not of great interest. For Cyprus see Webb 1987, 28.

⁸² In a few cases these dates can be wildly out, e.g. the two ancient seals on the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (536), or 312, a Middle Assyrian impression on a tablet dated to the second year of Darius. More insidious are cases such as the thirteenth century tablet TR 2037 which is impressed by five seals all of fourteenth century style (Iraq 39-15). The sons of Erib-ilu were evidently conservative men.

⁸³ Eventually it may become possible to compare developments at Assur and Nuzi with a precision of perhaps a decade or so for much of the fourteenth century; but at the moment one is doing well if a design from elsewhere can be dated as precisely as to the whole period of the Nuzi archive. I have been unable to see Dr. Stein's thesis and as a result have not concentrated on those aspects of the subject for which Nuzi is most important. However the possibilities arising out of her work are of a quite different order of magnitude to those discussed here and therefore fall outside the scope of this work. It is always difficult to do justice to Nuzi without neglecting the other sources, and as I suggested above (p. 5) the primacy of Nuzi in Mitannian studies has had unfortunate consequences.

Nippur are on undated bullae, one is left with the Assyrian tablets as the most valuable source of impressions.⁸⁴ In Assyria, moreover, as the impressions not only belong to three different centuries but also come from three different regions it is possible to attempt an analysis worthy of the name, although the good spread of the evidence inevitably means that it is a little thin at any given place and time.⁸⁵

A last type of chronological evidence is provided by seals with inscriptions including the names of known persons, usually kings. This is the most valuable information as (unless the seal was recut)⁸⁶ the date is directly attached to the time that the seal was made, rather than when it was used (impressions) or lost (excavated seals).⁸⁷ The most important series is in the First Kassite style, but there are also some from Ugarit, Alalakh and elsewhere.⁸⁸

The evidence thus covers only certain stretches of time, and there are long periods for which there is little information. Apart from Alalakh, for example, there is almost no evidence for the period 1600-1450 BC, and apart from Nuzi there is not much to cover 1450-1350 BC. The two centuries after the invasion of the 'Peoples of the Sea' in about 1200 BC are hardly illuminated at all, except by the Tiglath-pileser archive from Assur. In consequence it is a mistake to project the evidence of the dated seals directly onto the undated ones. Instead one has to ask for each period what one can most convincingly place in it. This means that the styles are better defined on other criteria before they are dated.

1.4.3 Context.

The evidence for spatial and chronological context is thus deficient. The same is true of other kinds of archaeological context, especially those bearing on social questions. It is not difficult to find isolated pieces of evidence of this kind, but they are not of much value unless they can be placed in a context where both positive and negative assertions can be made. The best prospect for this would be a cemetery, where the distributions of cylinder seal types could be compared systematically with those of other kinds of grave goods. This would require a minimum of several hundred graves. Information of this order is not available in our period.

There is an excellent possibility that there will eventually be a sufficiently detailed prosopography of the Assur and Nuzi archives to enable the social background of the users of the seals to be studied. Essential work towards this is now in progress in both archives, but there is not yet enough published to work on. With archives the question of context is complicated by the necessity of considering not just the context of the impression in the archive but also the context of the archive, or of the individual tablet, in the society as a whole.

This might seem redundant as seals are made for sealing and should therefore have the same context in society as the objects they seal. However seals were not only used to seal tablets. There are many uninscribed bullae, and much evidence, especially in the west, for the use of seals as votive objects.⁸⁹ Seals also had an indubitable magical significance (Goff 1956). In addition, seals were not the only objects used to make sealings, as garment hems and fingernails were often substituted (Oelsner 1980). None of these uses can at present be assessed adequately, because the comparative evidence for other uses is always in a different spatial or temporal context, so that if differences are found it is impossible to tell which kind of contextual distinction is responsible.

In short, the distribution of any kind of context that might be useful is always, in relation to the whole field of known seal designs, deficient in quantity and very uneven in coverage, and these various distributions fail to correspond with each other so as to allow at least some local analysis. There is only one kind of context whose

⁸⁴ There is a useful little group of Kassite impressions dated to around 1300 BC (Porada 1952) and a number of informative isolated pieces from various sites such as Subeidi, Ugarit and Emar.

⁸⁵ See the Assyrian chapter. Unfortunately the most interesting period, the end of the fourteenth century, is poorly documented.

⁸⁶ e.g. Collon AOAT 230; cf. Dynastic seals. The seals of Itkhiya (621) and of Itkhi-teshup (626) belonged, it would seem, to the same person (Wilhelm 1981), while Porada (1948a, 71) showed that 493 no longer belongs to the *limmu* of 882 BC.

⁸⁷ For example the youngest seal on the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon was made for Sennacherib, used by Esarhaddon, and the impression was 'lost' in the destruction of Nimrud in 614 BC. Likewise the seal on the 'Saushtatar Letter' (591) was made (probably) for Saushtatar, used by him or by some subsequent king, and the impression was lost in the fall of Nuzi. This seal is unusual in that we can also say that it was used by Artashumara and Tushratta and the impressions lost in the destruction of Brak (Finkel 1985, 191-4), so that the three stages at Brak may each have been about a generation later than the corresponding stage at Nuzi.

⁸⁸ In the west the situation is complicated by the dynastic inheritance of seals. This means that an impression does not provide evidence of who the user of it was, which is a vital factor in the dating of the Nuzi archive (Stein forthcoming). For dynastic and multiple seals see (Mitanni) Starr 1937, pl.118I (Nuzi), Collon AOAT 230, Finkel 1985, 193 (591); (Kirkuk) Porada 1975, fig. 6, Porada 1979a, fig. 1, Wilhelm 1981 (621, 626); (Alalakh) Collon AOAT 11, 189, 193, 220; (Carchemish) Ugaritica III figs. 30-35 (564); (Ugarit) Ugaritica III fig. 99 (582); (Amurru) Ugaritica III fig. 46 (617) and (Emar) Beyer 1980, fig. 1. The seal of Saushtatar, 591, has recently been found in use at Tell Brak by Tushratta as well as by Artashumara, though Tushratta (or his foreign office) had another seal, Porada 1974/7, fig. 1. See Collon 1987, 128-130.

⁸⁹ Most of the seals from Choga Zanbil are also from votive deposits. Cf. Webb 1987, 28-30.

distribution corresponds well to that of the seals, and that is that of the seals' designs themselves. With the exception of badly damaged seals (which will never be very interesting) every instance of any design feature has an artistic context in the other features present in the seals in which it occurs. An internal analysis of the designs can thus depend on many pieces of comparative information for each artistic trait. Any attempt to analyse such traits with respect to the various kinds of external context outlined above will fail to find more than limited indications, unless contexts of different kinds are amalgamated, which will inevitably lead to ambiguity and confusion. For this reason the analysis here rests on the internal relationships among the seals. A group of seals is first defined on this basis (though external contextual information is often useful in suggesting where to start work), and only then is it attempted to locate it in space and time. The result is a picture which is not so much distorted by the deficiencies in the external contextual evidence, though inevitably it may be impossible adequately to locate some of the groups.

1.4.4 Categories and Analysis.

The analysis thus proceeds by comparing the distributions of the various features of the designs with each other looking for patterns which can be used to define groups. As the number of such comparisons is potentially infinite, it is necessary to select the most attractive approaches and build on them. The most important preliminary indications are those which the many previous scholars have suggested. They have defined and investigated all of the styles and have thus supplied a framework of primary dimensions along which comparisons can be made. As a result it is unnecessary here, for example, to demonstrate the chronological distinction between the early and late second millennium seals, or indeed to identify the major styles, though this has been done for convenience. The next most important source of hypotheses is intuitive. One is best fitted to investigate whatever one is most interested in. A casual glance at this book will show defects due to my lack of interest in certain aspects, such as their mystical significance or their exact functional role (Leemans 1982); however I think the aspects that I have concentrated on have been neglected by others.

Intuition is necessary, but it is dangerous precisely because it latches onto some aspects and neglects others. One's basic view of the main styles, for example, is liable to be coloured by the particular cases that occur in the most obvious publications.⁹⁰ I therefore temper the trial and error of intuition with a careful assessment of the distributions involved, for which a computer is essential. The virtues of a database need not be rehearsed here (Digard 1975): it is enough to say that although most of the results in this book are based on manual analysis, this would not have been possible without the many indexes and cross-tabulations provided by the computer. The coding took up about half of the time of the research, but I think that these indexes alone justify this expense. The process of coding also forced me to describe the seals down to the last detail and thus to look at the evidence much more thoroughly than might otherwise have been the case. The results given here are only a small proportion of those that could be obtained from the information already recorded.⁹¹ The computer has enabled me for the first time to make some informed guesses about the relative proportions of the various features, which is essential in assessing hypotheses about distributions.⁹²

However one result of the computer coding is a very thorough classification and description of the designs, which masks the very real uncertainties that underlie it. For most of this work categories are taken very much for granted. This is necessary if progress is to be made, but does cause severe theoretical problems.⁹³ The categorisation assumes that scenes are made up of individual figures which may themselves be made up of parts. This hierarchical approach assumes that the level of the figures is the fundamental one.⁹⁴ In a linguistic analogy sentences are analysed at the level of words, not that of letters. Given several different figure types (humans, animals, etc.) and often several different cases of the same type on a seal, the possibilities for cross-comparisons at different levels are endless (e.g. presence of lion against type of human dress) raising difficult problems to do with the meaning of comparisons of unlike terms. The computer can be used easily to create

⁹⁰ 591, which is a hybrid not typical of anything in particular, is the most prominent instance of this; another is 445 which is often reproduced as a characteristic Assyrian seal (e.g. Frankfort 1939, pl.31h) even though, as shown in the Assyrian chapter (p. 93-4), it is actually rather unusual.

⁹¹ It was my intention originally to analyse directly by computer, and this should in principle be possible. However the patterns in the evidence are obscured by a great deal of 'noise', due to idiosyncracies of the artists, damage, coding errors, etc. If there is enough evidence, then the patterns will not be submerged by this, but I have found in many experiments with different kinds of analysis that in a sample of a couple of thousand items it is necessary to spend more time overhauling and adapting the data to suit the question in hand than could be afforded. Of course the original coding could have been much better, but only in the light of what was learnt in the course of doing it the first time.

⁹² Again, it is theoretically possible that this could be done in explicit statistical terms, and indeed this was attempted in the first draft of the Kassite chapter. However I found that such a formulation was spurious without much improved definitions of the fields of the distributions, while every attempt to do this resulted in field sizes too small for the statistics to be reliable.

⁹³ See the extensive discussions in Hodder 1986 and Miller 1985.

⁹⁴ e.g. with a presentation scene the primary aspect is the presence of human figures; subsequently these can be broken down into dress, arms, etc. on the one hand, and their combination in the whole scene on the other.

compound units from lower level categories, or to combine according to different sets of criteria.⁹⁵ The approach adopted here is that the comparison which is most strongly patterned is the 'right' one: this of course depends on the original categorisation and is fundamentally circular (Panofsky 1955, 35, Hodder 1986, 130-1).

There is however one respect in which this view of categories can be justified, namely the perceptual question of reality and appearance. In *perspective* art an element in a design is determined by two factors: what it is and how it is depicted. A cube, for example, is an object with right angles which is shown with acute and oblique ones. The artist thus has a place in his own work because the scene is shown from his *viewpoint*. This attitude to art was invented by the Greeks (Schäfer 1974, 91) and does not occur in what may be called 'aspective' art.⁹⁶ Here the artist draws the object as it 'is', not as it 'appears', and as a result the whole problem of reality and appearance becomes irrelevant (cf. Miller 1985, 10).

The same object may still be shown in various ways, because a concept requires some means of expression. Thus the letters of the alphabet can appear in different typefaces. 'Style' could be defined as a set of standard forms of expression, so that artists in the same style will always depict the 'same thing' in the same way.⁹⁷

The existence of a concept as a 'thing to be depicted' does not imply that it has any *meaning*. Words have meanings in a sense that their letters do not. According to this linguistic analogy⁹⁸ there are two different kinds of logic behind a design. First there is a standard means of constructing a scene.⁹⁹ Second, there is in language, and there may be in art, a meaning. I do not count meanings such as 'figure is human', but rather 'figure is Adad'. The approach here depends on the restriction of formal possibilities which results from the application of meaning. Thus 'xrxt' is not a possible English word, while 'affle' is. Neither has any meaning, so the requirement that words should have meanings excludes 'affle' from the lexicon even though it is correctly constructed.¹⁰⁰ So in the analysis the styles are defined by the presence of regular forms and regular means of combining them to create scenes, while the presence of meaning can be deduced where some of the possibilities allowed by these regularities are missing. (See Eco 1976, 231-234).

This is irrespective of what the meaning actually is, which is not a main subject of this research. The meaning of art is not self-evident in the way that the identity of some of the components of a scene may be.¹⁰¹ There are two ways of discovering the meaning. One is to apply intuition. The main difficulty here is the impossibility of falsifying such suggestions.¹⁰² But although intuitive explanations are theoretically weak they are responsible for most of our appreciation of the art of the cylinder seal. The other main method is to use textual sources. The greatest difficulty here is that textual descriptions usually do not exactly fit the designs to which they might be applied. One has to decide how much leeway to permit, bearing in mind that major iconographic distinctions can sometimes be expressed by very small formal differences.¹⁰³ I do not possess the familiarity with the texts that would be needed to make assessments of this kind.¹⁰⁴

The analysis, which is applied here to three particularly well defined styles, Old Babylonian, First Kassite and mature Middle Assyrian, thus seeks first to find the principles which govern the construction of their designs, and then to explore how these principles were used. There are three main kinds of composition that may be present. A design may either be generated from underlying rules, or may simply copy a type. If it is generated from rules, then these rules may all be productive, or some of them may place restrictions on some of the possible productions. Although in principle a design of any of these types may have a meaning, it is only in the last case that the principles of composition themselves provide evidence that a meaning is present. Otherwise it is not unlikely that the design is purely ornamental, or that it helps to create an atmosphere

⁹⁵ e.g. the Babylonian canon of arm positions is both more rigid and different in form to the Assyrian, but both are constructed from the same basic possibilities.

⁹⁶ Brunner-Traut 1974. There are cases in the seals where a perspective view would be credible if the general presence of the principle were accepted (e.g. Lambert 1979, 23), but if the principle is not admitted in general then the resemblance of these cases to perspective is better counted as accidental.

⁹⁷ Of course the repertory of 'things' will also vary from style to style, and which kind of variation is present is often in doubt.

⁹⁸ I use a linguistic analogy both to clarify the problems, and as a warning that the discussion here is superficial. Linguistics is a notoriously abstruse field and the lack of general agreement on basic issues makes it difficult to discuss problems such as meaning or signification briefly.

⁹⁹ Thus any language will have a phonetic system, and may have a writing system associated with it: neither English nor Greek, for example, can adequately be represented by the other's alphabet. There are also rules which govern the combinations of sounds, such as the rejection of consonant clusters in Arabic. All of this is independent of the meaning (except in some poetic usages).

¹⁰⁰ Such well formed but meaningless words are the most likely ones to be used in expansions of the language, e.g. 'chortle'.

¹⁰¹ Thus the descriptive statement 'figure is human' does not require justification of the kind needed by the explanatory statement 'figure is Adad'.

¹⁰² e.g. how do you show that a design is *not* apotropaic? Either it shows the evil beings to be repelled or the good ones that will repel them. Cf. Miller 1985, 57; and Porada 1970, 112 on the favourable significance of geometric designs.

¹⁰³ e.g. the 'Hathor' and 'Humbaba' heads: Mayer-Opificius 1984, 195-6.

¹⁰⁴ Some examples: Porada 1974/7, 137-8, 142; Mellink 1964, 162; Wiggermann 1981-2, 97-8; Spycket 1960.

without having a specific significance.¹⁰⁵ Speaking rather subjectively we may say that a fresh and vigorous style will manipulate its own rules to carry meaning, that a mature and confident one will explore all of the possibilities allowed by its productive rules to give more variety if less significance, and that a tired and declining style will merely repeat what it already knows without caring what it means.

1.5 Survey of design conventions.

1.5.1 Composition.

Material is of immense importance in determining a seal's style,¹⁰⁶ but is often recorded in publications in a form that is of limited use. The two most interesting dimensions are whether it is natural or artificial; and, if natural, whether hard or soft. The Late Bronze Age was a time of pioneer experiment in the production of artificial substances, and the terminology used for the results¹⁰⁷ is confusing and inconsistently applied. The best solution is to use a single term, 'composition', for all of them (Collon 1982a, 5); but as the main subject of this book is *artistic* composition, it becomes confusing to use the same word frequently in both senses. I therefore use 'faience', but it has to be understood to cover glass and all other artificial substances of this kind as well.¹⁰⁸ It is more difficult to distinguish between hard and soft stones because although recent catalogues are good at giving precise geological descriptions they rarely provide a measure of hardness. This does not matter with stones such as quartz whose hardness is constant, but others, like limestone, are variable.¹⁰⁹ Still, one can at least guess if a geological definition is given, while descriptions such as 'grey stone', which are regrettably frequent, tell one very little. The materials used vary sharply from one style to another, as shown by the tabulation:

Percentage proportions of material types within styles

	<i>hard</i>	<i>soft</i>	<i>comp.</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>sample size</i>	<i>notes</i>
Coarse hard Mitannian	93	5	1	1	154	
Fine hard Mitannian	92	7	2	0	62	
First Kassite	86	13	0	1	145	
13th. c. Assyrian	81	14	3	1	97	and later
14th. c. Assyrian	73	20	7	0	15	
Fine Cypriote	78	19	3	0	69	
Special Mitannian styles	72	28	0	0	25	e.g. 542, 543, 559-561, 583-591
Aegeanising	71	24	6	0	17	
Intermediate Mitannian	74	3	23	0	31	e.g. 595, 615
Intermediate Cypriote	36	57	2	5	42	
Hittite	13	60	0	27	15	Metal
Coarse Cypriote	15	78	4	3	72	
Second Kassite	36	50	11	3	36	Lapis lazuli
Levantine	16	63	20	1	158	
Third Kassite	17	36	45	2	47	
Pseudo-Kassite	3	12	85	0	34	Glass
Elamite	7	8	85	0	137	not Schematic Elamite
Special faience styles	3	6	91	0	65	e.g. 571-581
Common Mitannian	1	4	95	0	422	

The tabulation excludes impressions and other designs where the material is unknown: hence the rarity of some styles such as early Assyrian. The styles are not defined by material even if labelled as such, except for some cases on the boundary between First and pseudo-Kassite. The first eight listed styles are dominated by hard stone, and with the exception of the coarse hard Mitannian seals are all characterised by consistently high

¹⁰⁵ For example it might convey a message such as 'you can trust me because I am conventional', like a business suit; cf. Miller 1985, 181.

¹⁰⁶ If the provenance is known, then the material will enable one to predict its style better than will its date.

¹⁰⁷ 'Frit', 'faience', 'Egyptian Blue', 'paste', 'glass', 'compost', etc.

¹⁰⁸ This usage is not as perverse as it might appear, as glass of this period is always opaque and thus differs from faience proper (sintered quartz) more in its chemical structure than in its appearance. Obsidian, a kind of natural (volcanic) glass, which is occasionally used in seals, is counted as a stone, because what is of interest is not what it is in modern terms, but how an ancient would have regarded it. The vital aspect of ancient compositions is not glass-like chemistry, but *artificiality*. See Moorey 1985, 133-5.

¹⁰⁹ The term 'marble' is one of which I am rather suspicious. Geologically it is a kind of metamorphic stone, and should be hard; but I suspect that it is sometimes used as a general term for attractive stones with an even colour. Another dubious term is 'glazed steatite', which can be used for glazed composition (cf. Moorey 1985, 137-141).

quality not found in any of the other styles except Second Kassite. None of them makes significant use of composition. Intermediate and Coarse Cypriote demonstrate the rise in inferior materials in lower quality seals. The four last styles are almost entirely carved in faience or glass and display more consistency than excellence in quality. Hittite is the only style to make significant use of a different class of material, namely metal. The rarity of the Hittite seals is doubtless due to the strong tendency of all ancient metal to be melted down for re-use.

Cylinder seals of this period are engraved only on the curved surface of the cylinder;¹¹⁰ and with few and insignificant exceptions (e.g. Marcopoli 678) the shape of all seals is a simple cylinder with a regular rectangular surface. The artistic problem is then how to treat this small rectangle, with an area of only about nine square centimetres. Stated like this, the variety of approaches that existed is impressive; but for the most part a few ground rules were adhered to. The most important was that the principal figures were oriented parallel to the axis of the cylinder,¹¹¹ while the main scene had a base-line (whether marked as such or not) parallel to the circumference of the cylinder. This had the advantage with tall upright figures, such as humans, that little compensation was necessary for the curvature of the surface. Animals, on the other hand, were then cut along the curvature, which was much more difficult.¹¹² Aegeanising designs show no more respect for these principles than for most other oriental conventions.¹¹³ Most styles made animals small in relation to the circumference to minimise this problem, but the mature Assyrian seals display a most admirable success in draping animal bodies right round the surface, the more so as they often¹¹⁴ introduced a diagonal axis as well in the 'falling-down' posture.

An important problem for any artist concerns what to do with empty space. Only the mature Assyrian style was bold enough not to engrave substantial areas of the surface. Otherwise there were two main solutions. The first, favoured by Kassite, Elamite, Cypriote and hard-stone Mitannian seals (e.g. 595, 596, 598), was to place a design on the surface and then to fill up the spaces left over with small motives, or even with small scenes.¹¹⁵ The second was so to arrange the main figures that little space would be left between them. This was achieved either, in fourteenth century Assyria (and to some extent in Second Kassite) by ingenious and imaginative forethought, or else, especially in Common Mitannian, by making the elements and scenes form simple shapes which would then be easy to fit together, that is, to make them rectangular (e.g. 609).

As a general rule all elements occupy a rectangular space, especially when not engaged in violent interaction with other elements, as then the form may have to include a ligature between the elements, as in the arms of the 'master of animals'. Thus in First Kassite seals showing a man holding one arm forward, it is held close to the body when the man is standing, as in 59 and 60, but at an angle when he is seated, as there is then a space above the knees that can be occupied without violating the circumscribing rectangle (e.g. 16).

Animals are much less easily confined to a rectangular space, as the head and horns are naturally held above and in front of the rest of the body. Much ingenuity went into the solution of this problem. The favourite device was to turn the head backwards: this was employed in all styles. Another method was to turn the body at right-angles so that the head and horns were beside it. This was most favoured in Common Mitannian (Ash 944-946, etc.), but a similar device is characteristic of the Cypriote style of Ash 957, and it is found also for example in the Aegeanising seal VR 782, in pseudo-Kassite (e.g. 261), and in Assyria in 448 where the hindlegs give a vertical edge unlike the usual diagonal arrangement.¹¹⁶ Alternatively the empty space behind the head could be filled by a wing, as in 12 Glyptik 44, or the head could be lowered to fill the space directly in front of the body. This gives a long thin shape, and was much used in Common Mitannian seals to fill awkward spaces above the figures (e.g. Collon BAR 60).

A rectangular shape can be imposed on an irregular element by combining it with another complementary figure. This device could either be used, as in Common Mitannian, on shapes which were already rectangular,

¹¹⁰ Some of the Hittite stamp-cylinders, if of this time, are exceptions, e.g. Alexander 1978, 141, pls. I, II, figs. 1c, 3c (Louvre AO 20138).

¹¹¹ Perpendicular to the axis of the cylinder in Collon AOAT 210, Hama fig. 195B, Ladders 217, de Clercq 293.

¹¹² Though not the Common Mitannian series of 'animals at right-angles' (Ash 936 etc.). Whole scenes with this orientation are not uncommon in secondary scenes, and in a few cases occur in the main scene, e.g. 14 Glyptik 100, Nuzi 279. Outside Assyria, designs on a diagonal axis such as Damascus 71 (if genuine) are very rare, as are strong diagonal lines other than in the bodies of animals (e.g. Guimet 130, 14 Glyptik 98 if complete as published).

¹¹³ e.g. Kenna BM 75, CANES 1077. These seals have a value in directing our attention to conventions which one might otherwise take for granted, for example the profile representation of animals, violated by Marcopoli 643, and otherwise extremely rare, except in detached animal heads (e.g. 623). Another case is Kenna BM 69, where the lions have their jaws sunk into the victim's body: the oriental convention, by contrast, is to show them poised to attack. Cypriote seals have the same value as Aegeanising ones, but to a lesser degree.

¹¹⁴ 386, 389, etc.

¹¹⁵ Arguably in First Kassite the whole design is just a filler in the space not occupied by the inscription.

¹¹⁶ As in 457, etc.

by making some of the members ambiguous¹¹⁷ or by combining members,¹¹⁸ or it can make a regular whole straightforwardly out of irregular parts (e.g. **284**, **302**). Alternatively the parts can be unlike each other, as in the group of lion and victim, which forms a rectangular whole in **446** and as a secondary scene in many good-quality Mitannian designs such as **597**, **599** and Porada 1974/7, fig. 1 (Tushratta). A simple method, not used as often as its simplicity might warrant, was to have animals in files so that the head of one overlapped the hindquarters of the next. This was used in Elam¹¹⁹ and in some sub-Kassite seals.¹²⁰

Seals normally included more than one scene, and even when, as in mature Assyrian designs, there is a single scene, the cylindrical shape makes it necessary to articulate the scene in some way with itself. A scene can take one of two forms: either a closed rectangle, or else a continuous band running round the seal. Such bands could either be truly continuous, for example in geometric patterns or friezes of identical elements, or they could consist of figures continuously relating to one another round the seal. Geometric bands and simple friezes are characteristic of a type of Common Mitannian seal,¹²¹ of Elamite seals such as those mentioned above and Choga Zanbil 126-157, and of some of the later Mesopotamian styles, in the Third Kassite 'imitation caps' (**211** etc.), and some of the late Assyro-Kassite seals (**170**, **196**, **203**). They are also typical of Hittite cylinders (**562**, **564**). The much more subtle continuous figurative scenes are employed by the best Assyrian¹²² and Cypriote work.¹²³

The proportion of seals with just one scene is about 20% in Babylonian seals, mostly Third Kassite; about 90% of Assyrian, the exceptions being mainly fourteenth century; about 35% of Mitannian, mostly of the simplest Common style,¹²⁴ but also of the type with simple balanced scenes in hard stone as in Nuzi Group XXV; about 50% of the crude Levantine seals, which for the most part display too little sophistication to employ any of the devices discussed in this section; about 30% of Elamite seals, especially the later ones (Choga Zanbil 39-52) and the geometric seals; and about 80% of Cypriote seals, from the best work to the crudest.

A rectangle has four edges. If there is more than one scene on the surface then some or all of the four edges of any individual scene will lie next to other scenes rather than at the edge of the surface. In this way the top and bottom of large rectangle forming the whole surface must lie at the edge of the seal, but the two sides can either not exist at all, if the scene is continuous, or be merged together, if there is only one scene, or be treated as an internal division between scenes.

The top and bottom of the surface thus represent the edge of the design in a different sense than the sides. This is reflected in the different treatment accorded to them. Internal divisions are usually implicit or ambiguous, as described below, while the top and bottom edges are in most cases explicitly recognised. There are three ways of doing this. The most satisfactory method was to fit the seal with caps at each end made of a different material, generally precious metal. It is impossible to assess this use properly as such caps were an irresistible temptation to thieves.¹²⁵

Except in Common Mitannian, the continuous designs mentioned above were used to effect the second method, which was to place a running frieze along the top and the bottom. This frieze either imitated the caps, as in the Third Kassite 'triangles', or was a part of the design.¹²⁶ In a very few cases¹²⁷ the ends were carved in some other way; there are also a couple of cases with loop-handles.¹²⁸

The last recourse was just to engrave lines around the top and the bottom. This was practised in all styles, and was an innovation compared to Old Babylonian seals (Collon 1986a, 12), which hints that the main late second millennium tradition owed more to Old Syrian (Collon 1975, 163). First Kassite seals, however, which owed no debt to Syria or Mitanni, often continued the Old Babylonian practice with a topline over the

¹¹⁷ e.g. in Collon BAR 55, which head belongs to which body?

¹¹⁸ As in the head and horns of Ash 945.

¹¹⁹ e.g. **269**, Choga Zanbil 97.

¹²⁰ e.g. **225**, **226**, **227**, **228**, **270**, Nuzi 702, Failaka 405.

¹²¹ Ash 949-952, etc.

¹²² e.g. **279**, **284**, **300**, **331**.

¹²³ RS 22.033, 22.042; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, Chypre A22. See Noveck 1975, 16 for an interesting speculation on the meaning of the continuous band.

¹²⁴ Ash 944, etc.

¹²⁵ It is no accident that they are most common in Cypriote seals, as that is the only place where a considerable number of seals have been found in graves, e.g. Kenna BM 30, 42, 53, 54, 61, 98. In some cases the career of a seal can be followed through impressions as its caps were added and removed: see for example for **625**, Gavin 1981, fig. 3.

¹²⁶ The Assyro-Kassite seals, **196** and **203**, have both.

¹²⁷ e.g. Kenna BM 108, Marcopoli 657.

¹²⁸ e.g. **307**, Marcopoli 678.

inscription only and no bottom line, though there is usually a baseline for the figures.¹²⁹ But then many other First Kassite seals follow the normal fashion with continuous lines both above and below.¹³⁰ Some of the crude late designs from Ur and Hama have two bordering lines,¹³¹ but this is otherwise rare.

The treatment of the division between the scenes varies from style to style. The most simple and common device was just to leave a blank space with the figures on either side facing away from it. The First Kassite artists, however, usually ruled off the different scenes, and it was a general practice to enclose lines of inscription in ruled compartments, very likely to facilitate writing out the signs. Special attention was paid to the problem of scenes which had to be divided from themselves because they ran right round the seal. The simplest course, apparently, would have been to have placed a line there, but this was almost never done.¹³² It was much preferred to insert a linear feature, particularly a tree or a standard, as a human figure is active and will form a part of the scene itself rather than its limit,¹³³ while other figure types do not form vertical elements. But even a tree is liable to become a part of the scene, either by drawing the main scene to it (333 - 337) or by attracting subsidiary elements so as to form a scene in its own right.¹³⁴ It is interesting to notice the difference between the Assyrian and the Second Kassite treatment of the type of seal with two linear features separated by two animals: in Assyria the animals are in a dynamic relation to one feature but face the other, thus setting up a continuity of motion,¹³⁵ while in Second Kassite one feature is unquestionably the centre, the other a terminal.¹³⁶ This difference sums up something characteristic in the comparison of the two styles, which were in the fourteenth century very close in many ways: as usual, Assyrian is the more creative and dynamic.

For the most part, where there is more than one scene on the same seal, the scenes are all rectangular and are fitted together like so many tiles. But there are two important series of seals which cannot be described in this way. First, some complicated Mitannian designs on hard stone are composed of several minor scenes, each of which has a certain inner logic, but which are thrown together more or less at random.¹³⁷ One gets the impression that the artist engraved each scene in sequence without laying down his course of action from the beginning.

Second, there are some complicated Assyrian designs, in which two different ways of infringing the rectangular rule appear. One is the curious device of setting scenes at a smaller scale within scenes at a larger scale, which occurs in seals on the transition between Mitannian and Assyrian.¹³⁸ Although this technique appears in the first millennium in the 'throne-panel' reliefs of Assurnasirpal II¹³⁹ it is not found in mature Middle Assyrian work.¹⁴⁰ The other method was to use the ways discussed above to deal with awkward shapes not just in pairs of elements but as an integral part of the composition of the scene, shown particularly in the classic elegance with which the three scenes of 477 are interlocked.¹⁴¹ This feature is very rare otherwise: 471 displays it with notable success, and so does de Clercq 357; like 292 and 468 these must have some relation to Assyrian glyptic.

All this applies as much to the junction of a scene with itself as to the boundaries between different scenes: originally the Assyrians liked to articulate the terminal area by crossing wings over it,¹⁴² but later they preferred the ingenious and characteristic device of a diagonal boundary. This is perfectly illustrated by 492, where one wing rises and the other falls: a century before they would both have risen to cross each other (14 Glyptik 10). In a few instances two scenes are really separated by a straight line, but one is made to impinge on the other to unify the design, as in 281, 293; this is not unknown in Second Kassite (164), but there it was preferred to have the impingement in a cut-out box of its own.¹⁴³ Kurigalzu, while BM 129099 belonged to a priest of

¹²⁹ e.g. 93, 108, 109: cf. Collon 1986a, 20.

¹³⁰ e.g. 35, 78, 87.

¹³¹ e.g. 224, UEX 582, 606; Hama fig. 195E.

¹³² See Iraq 11-110 for a half-hearted attempt.

¹³³ cf. e.g. Contenau 1926, no. 101, HSS XIV 280, 304.

¹³⁴ e.g. 475, 496, 608.

¹³⁵ e.g. 278, 279, 284, 289, 329, 331, even 283.

¹³⁶ e.g. 131, 138, 146, 166, 171, 173.

¹³⁷ e.g. 598, CANES 1029, Ladders 74, Ash 913, BM 89745.

¹³⁸ 459, 463, 465, 604, 605, 606, Yale 1280.

¹³⁹ Meuszynski 1981, pl.1 (B22-24), pl.2 (B12-14).

¹⁴⁰ Unless e.g. one counts 530.

¹⁴¹ 287 is another fine example.

¹⁴² 277, 278, 279, 605, 606, 14 Glyptik 10, 12, 13.

¹⁴³ 129, 138, 145, 146, 186. This point applies even if the inscription was cut after, and round, the design, as it would have been easy either to have left a free strip for it, as in 135, or to have put it in a rectangular panel, as in 132. The Second Kassite artists cannot lightly be accused of incompetence.

When constructing an arrangement of scenes, the artist could use horizontal or vertical divisions or both. If horizontal divisions only were used, then the individual scenes could be either continuous round the seal, as in Common Mitannian geometric designs, or, less frequently, finite, as in some of the Second Kassite seals just mentioned and a few others.¹⁴⁴

More often the original zones created by the horizontal divisions were then divided again vertically. When there were continuous bands around the top and bottom of the seal, the remaining space could then be treated as one scene¹⁴⁵ or as several, especially in Hittite seals.¹⁴⁶ Alternatively the surface could be divided into two horizontal parts each of which was then subdivided separately,¹⁴⁷ especially in a curious Cypriote style with extraordinarily fine detail.¹⁴⁸

It is much more common for the main division of the surface to be vertical, and among scenes of this kind the normal arrangement is to have two scenes beside one another. This follows naturally from the difficulty in constructing a scene of exactly the right length round a curved surface. It is much easier to engrave a scene on about half of the surface and then to treat whatever space is left separately. This elementary composition is especially common in First Kassite seals,¹⁴⁹ and especially uncommon in Assyria.¹⁵⁰ It occurs in about 20% of Mitannian seals, and about the same proportion of Levantine ones; rather fewer in Elam and on Cyprus, where it is typical of those best-quality seals which do not have a continuous design.¹⁵¹

In many seals, however, one of the two elementary scenes is then subsequently subdivided horizontally. This was never done in mature Assyrian designs. There were various different possibilities, all of which were common in the Mitannian style. One horizontal division of the secondary zone into two equal parts was occasionally practised in Kassite seals,¹⁵² but there it was preferred to rule off a thin band at the top of the figurative scene (28 etc.). This latter composition may be explained by assuming that the inscription was engraved first, leaving a space too tall and narrow easily to be handled without giving the area above the figures separate treatment.¹⁵³ It also occurred in Elam, both in pseudo-Kassite seals (237, 242, 266) and true Elamite ones.¹⁵⁴ Alternatively, the strip could be marked off below the scene, or both above and below.¹⁵⁵

On the other hand division by means of a guilloche along the middle of the secondary scene was not used in Babylonia, as it was derived from Old Syrian practice: it does occasionally occur in Egyptianising or Levantine pieces (e.g. Ash 995), but is mainly the hallmark of Mitannian composition, being as common in western¹⁵⁶ as in eastern seals.¹⁵⁷

1.5.2 Human posture.

Humans are described here by a four-figure number. The first digit gives the posture, the second gives the dress, and the last two represent the arms. The codes are illustrated on Plate I. These three characters are chosen for two reasons. Each is subject to considerable variation: they can thus be used to establish differences between large numbers of types. However, each type is sufficiently distinct from the alternatives not to suffer from too much ambiguity.¹⁵⁸ The code given here involves more types than are actually used in the analyses.

¹⁴⁴ Such as 612, Nuzi 351, Beran 1959/60, fig. 1, Collon BAR 113, Ugaritica IV fig. 76.

¹⁴⁵ e.g. 196, 203.

¹⁴⁶ 496, 562, 564, Emar 19, Laroche 1982, 58 fig. 6.

¹⁴⁷ 192, 519, 520, 613, 614, 14 Glyptik 1, Collon BAR 74.

¹⁴⁸ 553, 554, Webb 1987, no. 8, Louvre 1196, Kenna BM 66, perhaps Frankfort 1939, 304 text fig. 107 (Astrakous), and a seal from Kition (Porada 1981/2, 27, fig. g). This style (Webb 1987, 50-52) draws attention, by violating it, to a remarkable oriental convention, that the orientation of scenes towards one end of the cylinder is constant, that is to say in nearly all cases it is possible to state whether the seal is 'the right way up'. As one of the standard explanations for the origin of the cylindrical form is that it gives more flexibility for covering irregular surfaces (e.g. Homes-Fredericq 1982, 7), it is rather surprising that this further potential was not exploited, as it would not then matter if the surface were such as to make part of the impression appear inverted. However, the indifference generally displayed at this period to the appearance of impressions, most notably, and regrettably, in Assyria, may account for this. So few Cypriote seal-impressions are known (Webb 1987, 27) that it is impossible to tell whether this style was accompanied by any difference in usage.

¹⁴⁹ About 50%, counting all the lines of an inscription together as one scene.

¹⁵⁰ Less than 10%, mostly fourteenth century, e.g. 476.

¹⁵¹ e.g. RS 7.081, VR 585, BN 476; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, Chypre A4.

¹⁵² 9, 87, 90, 193.

¹⁵³ See the Kassite chapter, p. 79 for a development of this suggestion.

¹⁵⁴ 549, Choga Zanbil 35, 82, Susa 2059.

¹⁵⁵ As in the Kassite series 49, 50, 53, Limet - Trokay 1969.

¹⁵⁶ e.g. 456, 484, 586, 617, RS 27.066, Ash 924, Kenna BM 85A, Iraq 11-94, 113, 183, Offner 1950, fig. 1 (Qatna).

¹⁵⁷ e.g. 457, 458, 13 Glyptik 78, Nimrud ND 4178, 14 Glyptik 52, 53, 58, 59, 91, Iraq 39-42C.

¹⁵⁸ Other apparently promising features, such as headgear, were rejected because the quality of preservation and publication made it impossible to assign values with reasonable consistency.

This is because it is awkward for a reader to have to remember more codes than is strictly necessary; but it was thought useful to sketch the distributions of forms such as Dress type 2 here.¹⁵⁹

There are four *human posture* codes. In all of them it is assumed that the torso is upright.¹⁶⁰ The 'posture' thus gives the attitude of the legs. Nearly all figures stand upright in profile.¹⁶¹ this is type 1.¹⁶²

Type 3 covers kneeling humans, whether kneeling on one knee or on both.¹⁶³ First Kassite kneeling figures normally face right; other styles are not restricted in orientation. Seated figures, type 4, occur in all styles. In First Kassite they always, and in Assyrian they usually¹⁶⁴ face left. Type 5 is for figures with one leg advanced. One cannot describe this attitude as the 'ascending posture' in this period, as in Old Babylonian (Collon 1986a, 24), because the advanced foot is not usually raised (e.g. RS 25.154).

1.5.3 Humans' Dress.

There are eight *dress* codes. Three are tied to particular styles. In the analysis Type 2 is always subsumed under type 1. It is the 'Bordered dress', which is the First Kassite garment with a heavy, often ladder-patterned border down the middle of the skirt and often running over one of the shoulders as well. Pseudo-Kassite seals, naturally, follow the First Kassite lead,¹⁶⁵ but dresses of this kind never occur in Assyria.¹⁶⁶ Common Mitannian dresses sometimes approximate to it (e.g. Marcopoli 574), but there is no obvious division between this form and type 4. There are analogous dresses in seals transitional from drilled Old Babylonian to Mitannian.¹⁶⁷ An Egyptianising demon wears a similar dress in Webb 1987, no. 3.

This Kassite dress should be distinguished from the Cypriote type 5, or 'patterned dress', though they are sometimes similar (e.g. Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, Chypre A22). The Bordered dress seems to be the consequence of wrapping a large piece of material with a worked edge around the body so that the border falls down the front.¹⁶⁸ The patterned dress seems on the contrary to be a made skirt hanging from the waist, usually in some brightly patterned material (e.g. RS 22.033). One of the possible patterns is a stripe down the front, but there are many others. The outline is quite different as well: the Kassite dress normally indicates the waist at the back, but falls straight down from the shoulder in front, while the patterned dress always has a belt and the waist is clearly marked on both sides. Although the patterned dress is quintessentially Cypriote, there are a few Syrian examples,¹⁶⁹ and a dress of this kind, probably a stylisation of 'mountain-scales', can be worn by the 'Chthonic God'.¹⁷⁰

The Bordered dress can also approximate to type 7, which is the Elamite 'Fringed dress'. This dress is defined by a thick fringe at the lower edge, vertically striped, and is the uniform of humans in the native Elamite style.¹⁷¹ Apart from this fringe, there is often a vertical stripe, though not necessarily down the middle of the skirt (548), and there may be a diagonal stripe running across at knee height as well (Choga Zanbil 62). This dress, though somewhat peripheral in the second millennium, had a distinguished history, as it spread to Assyria where after a tentative beginning¹⁷² it became the standard royal garment at the end of the millennium in the neo-Assyrian Linear Style. With this bridge to the monumental sculpture of the first millennium, we can say that the Fringed dress is in essence the same as the Bordered, only the method of wrapping the material is different so that the border runs round the skirt instead of down it.

¹⁵⁹ This code is very much simpler than the one used in the computer coding, which (for humans) has about 300 types. I have not attempted to make the code look tidier by removing missing values such as Dress type 3. These were used in earlier stages of the analysis.

¹⁶⁰ There are exceptions, none very common: see e.g. 305, 542, 624, 626, Nuzi 518-527.

¹⁶¹ By which I mean the *feet* point the same way. The chest is often portrayed 'frontally': this is not due to some kind of 'twisted perspective' but is the result of aspective depiction, under which the chest is best shown so that its relationship with the arms is obvious.

¹⁶² In some figures the feet are turned outwards or there is otherwise no question that the whole torso and legs are frontal. The main occupant of this posture is the 'nude female' (also some related demons, e.g. 429, BM 102675), but it is also applied to the 'Chthonic God' (e.g. 129, 130, 462, Moortgat Festschrift 1) and a few Cypriote pieces (e.g. 554, VR 583, 584, Walters 63).

¹⁶³ The latter almost entirely First Kassite (28 etc.) though it occurs occasionally elsewhere, e.g. 480, 503, 504, 507, 536, 561, BM 89601, Choga Zanbil 26, 75.

¹⁶⁴ Not 502, 521.

¹⁶⁵ e.g. Choga Zanbil 3-5. The unusual style of 542 and 543 evidently also borrowed the dress from First Kassite, as is shown by the dog.

¹⁶⁶ Unless perhaps 501.

¹⁶⁷ e.g. BN 430, de Clercq 396.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. detailed representations such as 73.

¹⁶⁹ 516, 607, BM 89783, Ugaritica III fig. 82, Iraq 11-90, Damascus 70.

¹⁷⁰ e.g. 462, cf. also 618, Choga Zanbil 24, Collon AOAT 195.

¹⁷¹ e.g. 547, 548, 549, Choga Zanbil 27-29, 57-87.

¹⁷² 509, 522, 523, 525, 528, 533, Ash 573, Weber 467.

Type 6 is the Flounced dress. This dress failed to make much headway in Assyria¹⁷³ but is otherwise well distributed over all styles. Although it can occupy consistent contexts, such as the Interceding Goddess, I have failed to gain any overall understanding of its significance. It may be best seen as a sporadic survival of Old Babylonian practice.

These four dresses all have the same general form, in that they cover both legs right down to the ankle. Type 1 is used as a default value for all such 'Long dresses', wherever either the details are not preserved, as is usually the case with impressions, or the details do not allow one to assign the dress to one of the other types.¹⁷⁴

The remaining dress types cover garments where some or all of the legs are exposed. Types 4, the Open dress, represents yet another way of folding the normal Mesopotamian toga-like garment. Here, instead of wrapping the material round the legs, the dress is looped up in front over an arm so that the knee-length under-tunic is visible.¹⁷⁵ Sometimes the leading edge, or drape, of the over-mantle can be seen falling down in front of the body. Broadly speaking, this occurs in Mitannian¹⁷⁶ but not in First Kassite practice (e.g. 97).¹⁷⁷ In Assyria the drape is not visible¹⁷⁸ but there the close-fitting Babylonian fashion was extended so that the lower part of the outer garment sometimes looks as though it is a separate piece of cloth attached at the waist. On Cyprus there was an equivalent to the Open dress (e.g. RS 21.014), but it is rather difficult to work out what it corresponded to in reality. In First Kassite the Open dress nearly always faces right; other styles have it facing in both directions.

The Open dress was worn by humans, gods and demons, all probably in a martial aspect. There was, however, undoubtedly a religious aspect as well, related to the Old Syrian goddesses with their dresses either drawn up or back.¹⁷⁹ Neither of these main types survived into the later second millennium, but the continuation of the idea is attested by a figurine from Nuzi and a stone vase from Assur.¹⁸⁰ The impressive amount of ironmongery borne by the goddess in 495 may be the result of combining both functions.

These dresses still cover one leg. The remaining types, 8 and 9, are for short dresses, not falling below the knee, and nude figures respectively. Both occur in all styles¹⁸¹ and show no restrictions in orientation.

1.5.4 Humans' Arms: Kassite series.

The style in which arms are most standardised is First Kassite, so the basis of the classification is the five Kassite arm positions (types 2, 3, 7, 10, 11, together with the Old Babylonian types 6 and 31 which did not survive in Kassite). The others are standard attitudes that occur in other styles (types 1, 5, 12) and default values for arms that will not fit easily into them (types 4, 8, 9).

The Babylonian standard may be described as such not only because the types are well distinguished from each other, and a large proportion of the cases conform well to them, but also because their construction follows a certain logic. Each position consists of the combination of two arms, one forward (i.e. on the same side of the body as the face) and the other behind. The most economical means of producing five types is for one arm to have three positions and the other two, and to follow through the combinations. This is what happens. The forward arm can be held either into the body or away from it. The rear arm either raises the hand in front of the face, or places it at the waist, or lets it hang down beside the leg. If the forward arm is held in, then the rear arm yields, respectively, types 2, 11 and 7. If the forward arm is held out, the result is types 3, 10 and 6.

Type 2, the 'interceding posture', occurs in all styles except Assyrian.¹⁸² It is not restricted in orientation, but is more common facing left than right in First Kassite. Type 3, apparently an attitude of humans in devotion,¹⁸³ is much more explicitly Babylonian. It never occurs in Assyria, and elsewhere only in styles

¹⁷³ Perhaps 489, 517, 518, 523; 522?

¹⁷⁴ e.g. the long dress with vertical lines, in Nuzi Group I (578, 579) and many other seals.

¹⁷⁵ It is not always clear whether the dress is withdrawn or the leg advanced. For this reason, as a coding convention, Dress 4 is not combined with Posture 5.

¹⁷⁶ e.g. 615, 616, 617, 619, 620, 621, 623, 626, CANES 1020, 1021.

¹⁷⁷ It may be inherited from the difference between the Old Babylonian and Old Syrian versions. Both of these normally have the drape, but the Babylonian version is much less exuberant and better 'fitted' than the Syrian, and this difference survived into the later part of the millennium.

¹⁷⁸ Apart from a few cases on the Mitannian borderline: 463, 605, 13 Glyptik 76.

¹⁷⁹ e.g. CANES 937-942, Marcopoli 490.

¹⁸⁰ Mellink 1964; von Bissing 1942 fig. 36.

¹⁸¹ Except short dresses are never undoubtedly present in First Kassite.

¹⁸² 606 is transitional to Mitannian, and so is 451.

¹⁸³ Cf. the Stele of Hammurabi.

heavily dependent on Old Babylonian.¹⁸⁴ In First Kassite it always faces right;¹⁸⁵ this restriction also applies elsewhere, but less rigidly.¹⁸⁶

Type 6 is a standard old Babylonian form, but it never occurs in First Kassite¹⁸⁷ and only rarely in other Babylonian or Assyrian seals.¹⁸⁸ Its main distribution is in Mitannian¹⁸⁹ and Egyptianising seals.¹⁹⁰

Type 7 appears to be a martial pose¹⁹¹ and has exactly the same distribution as type 3: it is not Assyrian,¹⁹² and it is subject to a restriction in orientation, absolute in First Kassite, and nearly so elsewhere.¹⁹³

Type 10, once again, is not a normal Assyrian posture (339, 419), but is not subject to the rule of orientation, as its principal manifestations are in the nude female, a frontal figure; and in the figure 1110, the most frequent person in Common Mitannian, which recognises few restrictions on orientation.¹⁹⁴

Type 11 is the most common arm posture of all, occurring in all styles and orientations.¹⁹⁵ It comprises two different actions which cannot be distinguished morphologically. The first is the attitude of the seated (or standing) god, extending an arm or holding an attribute in the Old Babylonian manner. The second is the seated or standing figure grasping a tree or standard, which finds its most typical expression in Common Mitannian. Mitannian designs in hard stone in the Babylonian tradition include both types, though not usually on the same seal (e.g. Emar 8).

The arm type 31 is primarily an Old Babylonian form, and as such occurs in Mitannian seals in the Babylonian tradition, usually in conjunction with a figure with arms 2¹⁹⁶ or 7¹⁹⁷. In a few cases it belongs to a nude female.¹⁹⁸ It is not, however, found in any Middle Babylonian or Assyrian seals. The same form is very frequently found in Common Mitannian¹⁹⁹ and other simple Mitannian styles²⁰⁰ in figures which grasp trees or standards. This is unlikely to have any connection in meaning, nor is the Levantine and Cypriote form used for shouldering weapons or subduing animals.²⁰¹

The animal-bearer, another Old Babylonian form, is rare in the later second millennium. The form is nearly always like BM III 344 rather than the type with raised hand as in BM III 341.²⁰² There is a number of Mitannian cases in the Babylonianising and Kirkuk styles, usually facing a figure of type 5111 or 5131.²⁰³ It occurs in a few other Mitannian styles²⁰⁴ and there are related forms occasionally elsewhere which may not be descended from the Babylonian version.²⁰⁵

1.5.5 Humans' Arms: Assyrian series.

It is evident from this discussion that the Assyrian repertory of arm positions is very different from the First Kassite. This is because they take up opposite sides in a long-standing opposition in Mesopotamian glyptic, concerning action. First Kassite figures are not exactly passive, they strike attitudes which certainly had some significance, but like the actors in a Greek play they never actually do anything 'on stage'. In Assyria, on the

¹⁸⁴ Though cf. the Elamite attitude of Choga Zanbil 57, 64, 83; Susa 2058, 2059.

¹⁸⁵ Except 121.

¹⁸⁶ e.g. exceptions in 231, Nuzi 110, 111, 117, 653; 470, 583, 600, Ash 910, Contenau 1926, no. 128, Webb 1987, no. 3, Susa 2033.

¹⁸⁷ 107 is surely type 7; Nuzi 707 is atypical.

¹⁸⁸ Gulbenkian 63; 291, 306, 309, 316, 426, 506, 536, 12 Glyptik 8: the contexts are so various that it is unlikely that the formal similarity is more than an accident.

¹⁸⁹ 601, 604, 625, 626, Layard 2-8, Porada 1975, fig. 11, BM 89341, Nuzi 740-743: especially in gods on their attributive animals.

¹⁹⁰ Marcopoli 646, Kenna BM 94, CANES 1001, Hama fig. 191, Damascus 59.

¹⁹¹ Cf. the Stele of Naram-Sin.

¹⁹² 277, 605, 606 and Weber 111 are transitional to Mitannian.

¹⁹³ Faces left e.g. in 456, Nuzi 349 (Nuzi 508 is oriented differently on plates XXV and LI), CANES 1028, RS 14.117, 26.228, Marcopoli 648, Collon BAR 103, 105.

¹⁹⁴ In frontal figures we can imagine both hands held at the waist, as in the cult relief Andrae 1977, 166 fig. 144. The 'three-dimensional equivalent' of the lateral figures may be something less symmetric, as in Common Mitannian figures of type 1110 the dress always covers one arm and leaves the other bare (e.g. Collon BAR 59, 60, 63, 65).

¹⁹⁵ Though in First Kassite it usually faces left.

¹⁹⁶ Collon AOAT 197, Thebes 21, 14 Glyptik 53, Kenna BM 39, Nuzi 609.

¹⁹⁷ CANES 1020, Nuzi 605, cf. Opificius 1969, fig. 1.

¹⁹⁸ Ladders 73, Collon AOAT 225.

¹⁹⁹ e.g. Collon BAR 56, 57, 73, Ash 927, 932, Iraq 11-38, 47, 59.

²⁰⁰ e.g. Nuzi 16, 17, 37, 101, 107, 109, Collon BAR 50, CANES 1007, Iraq 11-41, Brussels 680, RS 25.183.

²⁰¹ e.g. BN 476, Webb 1987, no. 8, BM 133026, Damascus 56.

²⁰² Nuzi 741 is an exception.

²⁰³ e.g. Collon AOAT 197, Beyer 1982a, fig. 9, Nuzi 629A, 645, 710, 792.

²⁰⁴ e.g. Thebes 7, 22, Marcopoli 649.

²⁰⁵ e.g. 497, Geneva III 142, Kenna 1972, fig. 31.

other hand, something is usually going on, either violent combat, or some other *action*.²⁰⁶ These two approaches were equally important in Akkadian art, but inactivity gained the ascendancy in the Ur III period and retained it in Babylonia until the end of the fourteenth century.²⁰⁷ The Akkadian contest, however, was not extinguished, but passed through Old Syrian into Mitannian hard stone seals. In its turn, the Assyrian style borrowed from hard-stone Mitannian those features which were furthest removed from the Babylonian tradition. The Mitannian seals included both active and inactive scenes,²⁰⁸ but Assyria retained only the former, and thus a completely different, though no less ancient, attitude to humans and human arms, from First Kassite.

The Assyrian arm types always extend the forward arm, the variety being supplied by the rear arm, and adapted to the task in hand.²⁰⁹ Type 5, the 'smiting' posture, is the main attitude used to subdue *one* enemy. The 'Smiting God', an Old Syrian person,²¹⁰ lost none of his popularity in Syrian seals of our period,²¹¹ and is common in Nuzi Group I (e.g. 578, 579, 580). In Assyria, this was the most important attitude for contesting heroes,²¹² though there was considerable variation in the exact details of the arms.²¹³ Type 5 never penetrated Babylonia, but was prominent in Hittite seals, as might be expected given the Hittite veneration for the weather god.²¹⁴ Type 5 occasionally appears in figures supporting a standard: this is certainly the case in 472, 482 and Collon BAR 109, and may be so as well in 471, 477, and Ugaritica III fig. 82.²¹⁵

If it is desired to subdue *two* enemies, then the arms are extended on both sides to give type 12. This type never occurs in First Kassite or in Elamite,²¹⁶ but is otherwise well distributed.²¹⁷ It is rare for this posture to occur where it is not subduing enemies (e.g. 574, Nuzi 716).

The last of these dynamic Assyrian attitudes, type 1, is the sole posture that can only have one meaning: it is the position of the archer. It is also the one most specifically Assyrian, and never occurs either in Mitannian or in First Kassite seals.²¹⁸ There are Mitannian archers,²¹⁹ but none of these shows the standard type 1 arm posture. It does occur, however, in sub-Assyrian styles, such as Second (159, 161) and Third²²⁰ Kassite, and Levantine,²²¹ as well as in Egyptianising²²² and Cypriote seals.²²³ Although I have described some of these seals as sub-Assyrian - and it is not difficult to imagine Assyrian forebears for them²²⁴ - there is a weakness in the argument in that 161 and presumably Starr 1937, pl.119F (Nuzi) are fourteenth century, while neither this arm posture nor the bow occurs among the fourteenth-century Assur impressions. When it comes to Elam, which after Assyria made the most use of the archer, it becomes very difficult to decide which way the influence ran. Some Elamite cases²²⁵ follow the Mitannian model; others²²⁶ are most probably of Assyrian inspiration. But the

²⁰⁶ Even in ritual scenes, apparently not far removed from the First Kassite universe, the celebrant often seems to be in the act of performing some action, such as possibly throwing incense on the flames in 525, 528.

²⁰⁷ Though see Collon 1986a, 87-90, for the vigorous, if rare, contest scenes still being produced in the Old Babylonian period.

²⁰⁸ Though Common Mitannian has mostly inactive ones, despite being in other respects further from First Kassite than hard-stone Mitannian.

²⁰⁹ While in the Kassite series the attitudes were more arbitrarily linked to their meanings, whatever they were, which makes the interpretation of them more difficult.

²¹⁰ e.g. Marcopoli 473-477.

²¹¹ e.g. 584-589, Collon AOAT 212, 214, 215, CANES 1024-5, Newell 326, BM 89323, VR 540; cf. 559, 560. See also Collon 1972.

²¹² e.g. 332, 345, 346.

²¹³ Contrast for example 349 with 413.

²¹⁴ e.g. 562, 563, 565, Emar 22, Laroche 1982, figs. 6, 7, Beyer 1982a, fig. 10, Beckman 1981 (YBC 16575), Ugaritica III figs. 34, 63, Beran 1959/60, fig. 3, Thebes 25, Huehnergard 1983, texts 3 and 4.

²¹⁵ Cf. also 476.

²¹⁶ Except Nuzi 614, Choga Zanbil 40, 41, and no doubt Susa 2092.

²¹⁷ Second Kassite, e.g. 130, 132, 138, 139, 142, 145, 146, 147; Third Kassite: 204, cf. 203; Assyrian, e.g. 280, 284, 287, 329, 427, 428, 429, 477, 13 Glyptik 57-62; Mitannian, e.g. 468, 598, 600, RS 2.001, Contenau 1926, no. 130, BN 459, Weber 267, BM 89568, Newell 361, CANES 1031, cf. 572; Cypriote, e.g. 556, RS 1.002, Thebes 9, Walters 63, Ash 953, Kenna BM 68, Geneva 166, Louvre A1194, CANES 1073. It is noticeable that the Cypriote version keeps the elbows tucked in much more than the others.

²¹⁸ 537 is an exception, but one may wonder whether this could be a recutting of a seal like BM 89855 or Iraq 37-31. Cf. 520.

²¹⁹ Choga Zanbil 112, Ash 911, Iraq 37-31, BM 89341, Ladders 73, Nuzi 710. Nuzi 914 is closer to the Assyrian type.

²²⁰ 198, 199, 201, 270, UEX 616.

²²¹ 569, 570, Nimrud ND 5363, Amiet 1973, no. 428, BM 104854, Starr 1937, pl.119F (Nuzi), Damascus 56, Kenna BM 88, 91: often associated with a chariot, as in 421.

²²² RS 3.041, Iraq 11-30.

²²³ Geneva III 143, de Clercq 309, Ash 986.

²²⁴ e.g. even Iraq 11-30 is conceptually much as 309.

²²⁵ e.g. Choga Zanbil 27, 37.

²²⁶ e.g. Choga Zanbil 33, 34.

²²⁷ 259-265, Susa 2084.

'Elaborate Elamite' archer²²⁷ belongs to a style which may not be far removed from First Kassite²²⁸ and could, if placed in the early thirteenth century, just precede the Assyrian archer.²²⁹ Kassite and Elamite archers always face right; this does not extend to other styles.²³⁰

There appears to be something of a pattern in the angles of the upper parts of the arm drawing the bowstring in Assyrian seals. In the thirteenth century at Assur this angle clusters around the horizontal²³¹ never being angled upwards more than in Moortgat Festschrift 10 or downwards more than in 413. In the western provinces, however, this upper arm droops markedly,²³² while in the twelfth century it can be quite high (12 Glyptik 43) and never falls lower than 12 Glyptik 44. Apart from the thirteenth century Assur impressions, there are not enough cases to feel much confidence in the spread of the angles, but when more material is found this point will be worth watching.

1.5.6 Other arm postures.

In the arm types discussed so far the variation has mostly resided in the rear arm. The forward arm has restricted itself to the Kassite position held in at the waist (types 3, 7, 10), and to the varying degrees of extension in types 2, 5, 11, 12 and 1. In none of these types does the forward hand rise much above the shoulder or below the waist. The default types 4, 8 and 9 are intended to fill the deficiency. Types 4 and 9 have the forward arm raised up, with the rear arm also raised in type 4, and lowered in type 9. Type 4 is an uncommon posture, having its most interesting context in the 'Atlantid' series where the winged disk is supported by a single bearer.²³³ It is also very occasionally used for holding a victim above the head.²³⁴ Type 4 is typical of a class of crude Cypriote seals²³⁵ and occasionally occurs in fine Cypriote work.²³⁶ Finally, it is the attitude of the 'mountain-god' in Hittite seals,²³⁷ who resembles the 'Atlantid' supporter, though supporting a god or demon rather than the winged disk.²³⁸

Type 9, with the rear arm lowered and the forward arm raised, is an Old Babylonian posture²³⁹ which passed through Mitannian²⁴⁰ to some of the very earliest Assyrian designs,²⁴¹ but did not flourish thereafter.²⁴² Very similar attitudes, which cannot be distinguished on morphological grounds, served the same purposes as type 11, i.e. as a ritual gesture and for grasping standards. The former appears to originate in Elam²⁴³ but became firmly established in Assyrian ritual scenes²⁴⁴ and probably emerges in the neo-Assyrian royal gesture.²⁴⁵ As a position for grasping standards a gesture of this kind appears in some of the finest Nuzi impressions²⁴⁶ and occasionally elsewhere.²⁴⁷ This posture does not occur in First Kassite, but sometimes emerges in Second (154) and Third Kassite designs (202), no doubt under Assyrian influence. We find it also on Cyprus.²⁴⁸

²²⁸ Cf. especially the tree in 117.

²²⁹ Following Mayer-Opificius 1986, 161-2, the seals to be dated before Tukulti-Ninurta I include 314, 351 (and presumably also 313, with its beardless head and 'stirrup-symbol'). See below, p. 95.

²³⁰ This is an argument for dating the beginning of the Elamite tradition with the late fourteenth century Second Kassite seals, that is to say not to derive it from Assyrian (though it does not follow that it derives from Kassite: it could run the other way). However the Kassite rule of orientation is inferred from the Second and Third Kassite pieces together; there are not enough Second Kassite archers preserved to be very sure that the rule was in force then.

²³¹ 13 Glyptik 11-17.

²³² 310, 352, 353, Iraq 39-42B; also the Mitannian seal with 'Assyrian' composition, Nuzi 914.

²³³ 473, 475, 477, 495, 498-501, Collon BAR 110; cf. also without the winged disk Nuzi 793, 795, 825, and the curious demons 469, Nuzi 810, 830, Amiet 1973, no. 409, though these have arms 12.

²³⁴ 293, 294; Moore 73, if it could conceivably be genuine, is the only Kassite example of this posture.

²³⁵ Ash 980, 982, Damascus 76, Porada 1948b, nos. 45, 53, Adana 41, Mallowan 1946, pl.xxiv.3 (Tell Jidle).

²³⁶ Kenna BM 77.

²³⁷ 496, 562, 565, Ugaritica III figs. 32, 34; Alexander 1975.

²³⁸ Though in 496 they support 'Atlantid' bullmen.

²³⁹ e.g. BM III 136, 137, though also known in Old Syrian, e.g. Marcopoli 457.

²⁴⁰ 597, 602, 603, Newell 357, cf. 571, 573.

²⁴¹ 384, Weber 111, 14 Glyptik 58.

²⁴² Cf. 383, 394, 395, Fakhariyah VII.

²⁴³ e.g. 549, Choga Zambil 31, 46, 65, 66, 70, 75, presumably derived from Choga Zambil 109, Louvre D113, Susa 2020, 2023, 2026, 2028 and the like: this attitude can be confused with type 2.

²⁴⁴ e.g. 502, 503, 521-524, 527, Fakhariyah I.

²⁴⁵ Cf. 196, 501.

²⁴⁶ e.g. 485, Nuzi 727.

²⁴⁷ Cf. de Clercq 357.

²⁴⁸ e.g. 558, BM 89313, Kenna 1972, fig. 31.

Type 8 is the default value for figures with both arms hanging down. This is found in some simple Common Mitannian seals²⁴⁹ and some Levantine pieces,²⁵⁰ but is most conspicuous in Cyprus, both in crude²⁵¹ and medium-quality seals.²⁵² It is rare in the best Cypriote work (e.g. RS 22.033). Type 8 never occurs in Kassite seals and is unusual in Assyria²⁵³ where it is an early equivalent of type 12.

1.5.7 Animals' Horns.

The thirteen horn codes used in this book (illustrated on Plate I, bottom two rows) are excerpted from, and amalgamations of, the series of 62 horn types used in the computer; naturally each must therefore bear a greater range of variation. The number of animals on the seals is immense, and as most of them, and many monsters as well, have horns, the number of cases of horns is enormous. In consequence few of these broad types fail to occur in any reasonably numerous style. This discussion therefore will only sketch out the outlines of the distributions, but these are nonetheless fairly clear. As a general rule, the Cypriote, Mitannian and Levantine seals followed one convention, and the Babylonian, Assyrian and Elamite another. The First Kassite seals are not very interested in animals and do not show some of the main features of the latter group, so the second convention may be described as the later one.

The older horn types all have two horns, except type 17. This type occurs in both traditions, but is much more prominent in the second series, and will therefore be considered below. This apart, we have in the first series types 4, 6, 12, 24, 29 and 49. The Common Mitannian style has the largest repertory of standard types, making use of all of these except type 49. Common Mitannian is not usually a curvilinear style, preferring lines and blobs, so all of these types except 49 have a linear version.

Type 24 is found frequently only in Common Mitannian, and even there it is usually found in filling animals where there is no room for a more expansive treatment.²⁵⁴ After Common Mitannian the most strongly linear seals are the schematic disorderly Mitannian designs in hard stone, which are made up of lines, drillings, and curves formed by arcs of the tubular drill. Type 12, the antlers of a stag, is most frequently found in Common Mitannian²⁵⁵ and these schematic hard-stone Mitannian seals,²⁵⁶ though also in some Levantine seals.²⁵⁷

These three styles also utilise type 4, which is the most common type in the least sophisticated glyptic.²⁵⁸ Type 4 is also typical of many Cypriote seals, both crude²⁵⁹ and intermediate in quality.²⁶⁰

Type 29, in its linear version, a V-shape with the tips bent in, is the most frequent Common Mitannian horn form.²⁶¹ In other styles it is usually more curved, especially in hard-stone Mitannian styles where it is formed with a tubular drill.²⁶² On Cyprus the curved type 29 in detached animal heads (i.e. bucrania) is the most important filling symbol, and in the simpler styles is expanded to become a major element of the design in its own right. Here the two curves of the horns are independent, not arcs of the same circle as in Mitannian, because they were not produced with the tubular drill.²⁶³ Type 29 also occurs in a few Levantine²⁶⁴ and early Assyrian designs,²⁶⁵ but does not appear in the mature Assyrian seals, in Babylonia, or in Elam.²⁶⁶

²⁴⁹ e.g. RS 15.273, Ash 936, Iraq 11-99.

²⁵⁰ e.g. Ash 1003, Iraq 11-176, Damascus 65.

²⁵¹ Ash 973-979.

²⁵² Ash 962-4, Walters 64, Kenna BM 93, BM 89717, 89739, Newell 359, Louvre A1192.

²⁵³ 278, 292, 300, 14 Glyptik 12.

²⁵⁴ e.g. Collon BAR 66, 86; RS 6.067, 24.365.

²⁵⁵ e.g. Collon BAR 39, 40, 44, 51, 52, 59, 64, 67, 68.

²⁵⁶ e.g. Collon BAR 95, Louvre A911, Marcopoli 590, 635, IB.SA 77, Brett 105.

²⁵⁷ e.g. Ash 1024, 1025, Emar 13, Brett 101.

²⁵⁸ Common Mitannian: in the Linear Style of 574, 575, Collon BAR 32, 50, Iraq 11-35, 104, 112, 182; schematic hard-stone Mitannian: almost universal, e.g. 593, Marcopoli 602, 614, 619, CANES 1053-5, 1062; Levantine, e.g. Collon BAR 113, Ash 1006, 1018.

²⁵⁹ e.g. Marcopoli 645, Ash 966-9, Guimet 132, 134, 135.

²⁶⁰ e.g. Walters 59, Ash 957, 958, Kenna 1972, figs. 39, 40.

²⁶¹ e.g. Iraq 11-51, 76, Marcopoli 581, Susa 2051.

²⁶² Simple orderly hard-stone Mitannian: 592, Weber 478, HSS XIV 288; elaborate hard-stone Mitannian: e.g. 600, 619, Weber 268A, 469, Contenau 1926, no. 130, Nuzi 636, 653.

²⁶³ Crude Cypriote: Ash 975-977, etc.; Intermediate quality: e.g. RS 1.002, Walters 59, Ash 957; Fine Cypriote: e.g. RS 22.042, Southesk Qd 1, CANES 1073; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, Chypre A10.

²⁶⁴ e.g. Marcopoli 658, Damascus 57, Iraq 11-151.

²⁶⁵ 287, VR 579, 14 Glyptik 15; cf. 607.

²⁶⁶ Except 28, 222?; Choga Zanbil 39?

That such a common and obvious type²⁶⁷ should have such a restricted distribution is remarkable. Although in general I have avoided putting names to horn types²⁶⁸ there seems good reason to count type 29, at least usually, as the horns of a bull, an animal important enough to merit such wide exposure. The restriction of the type must then be due either to an absence of depictions of bulls, or to the use of some alternative way of expressing them. First Kassite follows the former course: its animals are strictly subordinated to the humans in any case, and they are of the canine and caprid species.²⁶⁹ The later Kassite and Assyrian styles, on the other hand, have a different way of depicting bulls (Type 18). As for Elamite glyptic, I am not decided whether the bull is absent or whether it is represented by Type 26.

Although First Cypriote makes use of type 29, especially in bucrania, it has its own horn form, type 49, which may also represent the horns of a bull.²⁷⁰ This type is restricted to a particular demon in seals of the best style,²⁷¹ and is the only horn type in this first series to exhibit the sinuosity more characteristic of the second, especially types 16 and 18.

Horns 6, the last type in this first series, is a more curved version of the linear type 4 (it is impossible to draw a sharp line between them), and appears in much the same contexts, only upgraded in quality. In Common Mitannian we find it in the complicated designs at home at Nuzi (especially Group XI), and in the style of 581, while in hard-stone Mitannian it haunts the finer styles,²⁷² and in Cyprus it is more common in fine²⁷³ and intermediate quality work²⁷⁴ than in the crudest seals.²⁷⁵ There are a few Levantine cases,²⁷⁶ but these tend to be on the borderline with type 4.

The most characteristic horn types of the *second series* are those which have only one horn (types 16, 17, 18), but before discussing them I shall cover the two-horn types 7, 11 and 26 which exist on the frontier between the two series. Types 11 and 26 are much the same except that the horns are wider apart in type 26. Horns of this kind are common in detached heads used as filling symbols in First Kassite and pseudo-Kassite seals.²⁷⁷ In schematic hard-stone Mitannian seals type 11 appears to be an abbreviated version of type 4²⁷⁸ (much as type 6 can be an elaborated version of type 4), while in Common Mitannian type 26 may be a simplification of type 29.²⁷⁹ Type 26 is common in Elamite seals²⁸⁰ but whether this animal should be counted as a bull or as a caprid is not obvious.

Type 7 is the universal Mesopotamian form *par excellence*. It is very rare in Cypriote²⁸¹ and Levantine seals²⁸² but occurs in all of the Mesopotamian styles.²⁸³

After type 7, the horn of type 17 has the broadest distribution, but it is not often found in the lower quality Mitannian and Cypriote styles. It is the normal type in First Kassite seals (e.g. 49, 74, 119) and in Second Kassite, where it is often elongated.²⁸⁴ Type 17 is also common in Third Kassite,²⁸⁵ mature Assyrian,²⁸⁶

²⁶⁷ It occurs in about every tenth seal, counting all styles together; or, as it is almost confined to Mitannian, Levantine and Cypriote seals, in nearly one fifth of them.

²⁶⁸ The authorities are not consistent in their attributions - see type 49 below for an example.

²⁶⁹ Except 28. This seal, despite the indigenous form of the fly, the classic Kassite symbols, and its metropolitan owner high in the Kassite government, has a pair of handsome butting bulls in a minor scene, whose non-Babylonian character was recognised by Moortgat (1940, 57); but then we know from 130 that this owner, Kidin-Marduk, was no staid traditionalist in his artistic patronage. Other First Kassite bulls, such as 22 and 126, do not have clearly marked horns.

²⁷⁰ Thus Kenna 1971, 29 s.v. no. 77, Buchanan 1966, 186-7 s.v. no. 953; but for Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, 23 s.v. RS 7.081 it is a gazelle, and to Boehmer 1969, 294 a heavily-jowled version is apparently lion-headed with horns.

²⁷¹ e.g. 555, 556, 558, RS 7.081, 21.014, BN 476, Ash 953, Kenna BM 77-79, Geneva III 142.

²⁷² e.g. 455, 608, 616, 623, BN 446, Weber 267, 14 Glyptik 70, 76.

²⁷³ e.g. Layard 2-9, RS 22.033, Porada 1981/2, fig. b (Sinda), BM 89313: particularly in animals flanking the tree.

²⁷⁴ e.g. BM 89717, Kenna 1972, fig. 29.

²⁷⁵ Though e.g. Geneva III 143.

²⁷⁶ e.g. Damascus 58, 66, CANES 1004, Iraq 11-53.

²⁷⁷ e.g. 8, 36, 64, 100, 239, 240, 246, BM 89117, Choga Zanbil 17.

²⁷⁸ e.g. Marcopoli 584, CANES 1036, 1045, 1052, 1056: though sometimes clearly differentiated from it, e.g. Marcopoli 620.

²⁷⁹ e.g. Collon BAR 49, 55, 62, Iraq 11-184, Ash 927.

²⁸⁰ e.g. Choga Zanbil 27, 35, 42, 69, 72, 90.

²⁸¹ e.g. Louvre A1198, perhaps Kenna BM 71.

²⁸² e.g. Marcopoli 669.

²⁸³ First Kassite: 85, 99, 117, 122; Second Kassite: 152, 166; Third Kassite: 201, 212, 215; Fourteenth century Assyrian: 298, 414; Mature Assyrian: 392, 444, 13 Glyptik 8, 9, 19, 59; Elamite: 274, Choga Zanbil 34, 35, 45, 90 (apparently rather late pieces); Mitannian: Common: 614, Collon BAR 43, 60, 64, 65, 74; schematic hard stone: Walters 52, Southesk Qe 7, Marcopoli 595, 615, (uncommon); fine hard stone: 452, 603, 619, 14 Glyptik 76, Kenna BM 45.

²⁸⁴ e.g. 145, 146, 168, 177, Boston 29.1086.

²⁸⁵ e.g. 204, 212, 215, 221, UEX 588, Ash 565.

²⁸⁶ e.g. 313, 317, 325, 354, 421.

Elamite²⁸⁷ and fine hard-stone Mitannian seals.²⁸⁸ In fine Cypriote work the strongly curved variant is most typical of the detailed group exemplified by one of the seals from Kition,²⁸⁹ while a slight curvature is more normal in animals held upside-down.²⁹⁰

Types 16 and 18 are of much the same shape, only 16 points backwards (and presumably means some sort of caprid), while 18 points forward and certainly means a bull in most instances.²⁹¹ These two are the most typical forms belonging to the second series: they are rare in Mitannian, Cypriote and First Kassite glyptic, and are concentrated in the later Elamite,²⁹² Assyrian,²⁹³ and Babylonian seals.²⁹⁴

In Third Kassite type 18 is sometimes abbreviated by omitting the last turn upwards,²⁹⁵ but it is unclear whether this is really a trait or whether it is the consequence of the lower general quality of the style, particularly the use of soft stone which is easily damaged or worn. A similar effect in some fine Assyrian seals leaves one wondering whether it is meant to be a horn or a forelock.²⁹⁶

Type 18 can also be elaborated in fine seals, by adding the point of the second horn beside the first.²⁹⁷ This was also applied to other horn types of the second series.²⁹⁸

The Assyrian style of the fourteenth century is not well covered in this survey, because very few animals are preserved in the published impressions which concentrate on the upper edge of the seal.²⁹⁹ Animal-headed demons are rare, the heads of birds, lions or humans being preferred. Many of the designs evidently once included animals,³⁰⁰ sometimes tantalisingly almost complete, (e.g. 286, 288). However these impressions do provide a good series of horns of type 20,³⁰¹ a feature which is always associated with a lion's head, presumably increasing its fearsomeness, though whether the concept is of horns proper or of ears pointed forward in aggression is not evident.³⁰² This motif appears to be an invention of the local style of Kirkuk,³⁰³ but had a wide currency only in Assyria, where it became attached in the thirteenth century to ordinary lions and survived into the transition to neo-Assyrian.³⁰⁴ There are no examples among the twelfth century impressions; but these, unlike the fourteenth century ones, tend to show only a band along the middle of the design, so the crown of the lion's head is usually missing.³⁰⁵

²⁸⁷ e.g. 545, 548, 549, Choga Zanbil 35, 36, 48, 50, 59, 61, 71.

²⁸⁸ e.g. 456, 459, 484, 619, 14 Glyptik 90, Nuzi 653.

²⁸⁹ Porada 1981/2, 27, fig. g; also 553, Webb 1987, no. 8, Louvre A1196.

²⁹⁰ e.g. Thebes 10, VR 584, Kenna BM 68, 79, BM 134771.

²⁹¹ Though cf. e.g. 447.

²⁹² Type 16: e.g. Choga Zanbil 60, 65, 66, 78, 83, 85, 95; Type 18 only seems to enter Elamite glyptic in later seals such as Choga Zanbil 41, Porada 1970, figures annexes fig. 14.

²⁹³ Type 16: e.g. 355, 362, 363, 378, Layard 2-13, 13 Glyptik 8; Type 18: e.g. 360, 370, 373, 382, 408, 427.

²⁹⁴ Second Kassite: Type 16: 142, 152; Type 18: 142, 147, 156, 164, 171; Third Kassite: Type 16 (rare): 199, UEX 616; Type 18: e.g. 209, 211, 212, 216, 219, Newell 417.

²⁹⁵ e.g. 210, 213, Ash 564.

²⁹⁶ 337, 411. Both could be accidental, 337 because the animal was drawn too close to the tree, 411 due to poor preservation at that point. Compare the forelocks in the workshop of 399, 401, 403, 406.

²⁹⁷ e.g. 142, 300, 480.

²⁹⁸ Type 17: 133, 138, 139; Type 16: Marcopoli 137.

²⁹⁹ Is this the consequence of Assyrian sealing practices or did Beran feel that the loss of the heads of the main figures made the impression worthless?

³⁰⁰ e.g. 281, 297, 487, 14 Glyptik 6.

³⁰¹ e.g. 281, 288, 295, 477.

³⁰² Donkey's ears in the opinion of Green 1983, 36; 1988, 167.

³⁰³ 625, Nuzi 712, 738.

³⁰⁴ 375, 391; BM 89520.

³⁰⁵ 381, 386, 389, 446, 12 Glyptik 14, 15.

2. Prologue: the Old Babylonian Period.

2.1 Introduction.

The Old Babylonian culture, lasting from about 2000 to 1600 BC, and showing many traits that are also present in the adjacent centuries, was the classic mature epoch of the Mesopotamian civilisation.¹ A standard culture prevailed throughout Babylonia and profoundly affected those of the neighbouring countries in Elam, Assyria, Cappadocia and Syria. It is recognisable in all forms of art, whether stelai, cylinder seals, mural painting, clay plaques or metalwork. The scribal schools of Mesopotamia continued the organisation and dissemination of the cuneiform tradition, which now extended into Anatolia and Palestine. There was not much general political unity, but this impinged little on the cultural scene until the end of the period when the geographic horizons seem to have contracted somewhat and a series of more or less independent glyptic derivatives of the Old Babylonian standard developed. It is these that interest us, especially the First Kassite style and the Babylonianising Mitannian seals in hard stone. Both of these occur in the later fifteenth century in the impressions of Nuzi, but it is at present impossible to state how much earlier they originated. The remarks on Old Babylonian seals presented here are intended to sketch the common inheritance of the styles of the middle of the second millennium, but they are not meant to constitute a general study of Old Babylonian, which would require very much longer treatment.² Nonetheless the style is investigated here in the first instance on its own terms, before going on to consider how its conventions were transmitted and transformed.

The Old Babylonian conventions are more constrictive and more consistently maintained than are those of the other major periods. In consequence the endless succession of seals in the catalogues³ give an impression (often justified) of stereotyped uniformity with little of the excitement and originality of Akkadian or Middle Assyrian work. The engraving is minute and consistently good with significantly less inferior work than later in the millennium. This is connected with the prevalence of first-class materials, particularly iron oxides, indicating more interest in physical properties than in appearance, which did not continue into the following era.⁴ But if the uniformity of Old Babylonian glyptic reduces its attractiveness, it also provides a favourable opportunity for analysis. The severe problems encountered in finding consistent structures to frame the analysis of the other styles do not exist at this time. Just under half of the seals (to judge from the British Museum collection) have scenes of only two kinds. The *two-figure scene*⁵ has two human figures facing each other. The *three-figure scene* has two human figures, facing right, with a third human on the right, facing left.⁶ A simple database containing 1000 designs of these kinds, from various Old Babylonian styles, was easily assembled, and crosstabulations of the features described were obtained.⁷ 880 of the designs had ordinary Old Babylonian cutting. These were intuitively assessed for quality of engraving. The remainder, belonging to minor styles of engraving, were not analysed in the first instance.⁸

2.2 Analysis.

The scheme presented here is given very tentatively as it does not utilise very much of the available

¹ I am counting the 'Isin-Larsa period' as the first part of it.

² This summary study has been made possible by the existence of a basic work of reference, Collon 1986a, of a kind sadly lacking for the later part of the millennium, and by the essential contribution on seal-impressions of Dr al-Gailani Werr.

³ There are more actual Old Babylonian seals in the British Museum and the Louvre than exist in total for any later second millennium style. This does not include other contemporary styles such as Old Syrian.

⁴ Collon 1986a, 4-9, gives proportions of 68% iron oxides (haematite, magnetite, goethite), 9% hard quartz silicates, 20% soft stones (limestone, chlorite, serpentine, etc) and only 3% artificial composition, mostly ceramic - though a collection of this kind will be biased against inferior work (see al-Gailani Werr 1988). In the later second millennium hard stones fall from 77% to 40% (with more use of quartz), soft stones stay static, and compositions rise to 40%, now mostly faience. The use of materials now differs much more from style to style than in the Old Babylonian period (see above, p. 14).

⁵ e.g. Plate II N-U. The figure combinations illustrated on Plate II are not meant to approximate to actual seals - no attempt has been made to ensure that the details are correct for the styles in question and no extraneous material (divine attributes, symbols, etc) has been included. They are given as a help in a chapter which, owing to the nature of Old Babylonian glyptic and the subordinate importance of the subject in the study as a whole, makes much more use of the code than elsewhere. Only by means of a code can precision and brevity of expression be combined; but it is a tax on the reader and Plate II is supplied as some compensation.

⁶ e.g. Plate II A-E. 'Human' is meant here in a formal sense only and may apply either to a man or to a god; likewise 'man' and 'god' are not restricted to male persons.

⁷ Only the four-figure outline codes (see above, p. 18) for the two or three main human figures present, and an assessment of style or quality, were coded. Certain scenes which included figures which were not carried over into the Kassite repertory, such as the bullman, were excluded, and so were seals where any of the coded features were unclear.

⁸ Drilled: Collon 1986a, 2; Linear: Collon 1986a, 199; 'Provincial Babylonian' (i.e. later Old Assyrian): Porada 1980a, 16.

evidence,⁹ and is based solely on the database, which does not cover all of the known cases of the style. It is not a statistical study and few of the patterns described would survive rigorous statistical testing. It is intended merely to show what kinds of conventions existed prior to the main period of our interest.

In an epoch lasting several centuries we may expect to encounter some chronological changes. There may also be regional variations, or differences which are related in some way to differences between the intended users or uses. Nonetheless to speak of an 'Old Babylonian style' we have to allow a certain overall unity. The most important aspects of this unity are the common mode of engraving and the common repertory of elements. But there are also some common principles of composition. We shall see that Old Babylonian operates rules of location and orientation, though the precise expression of these rules has some variation.

Another general rule, related to these, is that Persons of the same type do not combine with one another. Most of this analysis is an investigation of this rule so its implications require some discussion. The decorative and functional role of seals would be adequately provided for by a system which specified the mode of engraving, the repertory of elements and the outline structure of the scenes. Free combination of elements would then be the most efficient method of producing a variety of different scenes. Instead we find that there are restrictions on these productive rules, which can only be explained by some doctrine carrying a 'meaning', analogous to the grammar of a language. These restrictions are somewhat obscure at first glance, for two reasons. First, a very high proportion of the seals is confined to only two scenes, 1807-1602 and 1602-1110-4111.¹⁰ Second, the number of figure combinations is very large.¹¹ It would thus not be unreasonable to suggest that Old Babylonian operated on two levels, a chaotic production of random combinations, and the unimaginative copying of two standard scenes. Probably both of these rather uninteresting methods of composition did have a certain currency, but when the element and figure distributions are inspected by means of the database it becomes easier to discern the patterns involved in most (though not all) of the seals.

The scheme which is outlined below proposes that the governing doctrine concerned a series of Persons which each had an autonomous identity, the King, the God, the Intercessor and the Man.¹² The persons are defined by location and context, and only to a limited extent by form. For example we may define the figure which occupies the centre in three-figure scenes as the King. The various different forms which occur there are then the consequence of different rules operating on the King. Some of these rules are stylistic, that is to say they concern the mode of expression rather than what is expressed. These may include spatial and temporal differences. Others may prescribe differences in form according to context, e.g. the King might have a different form when facing Shamash than when facing Ishtar, because the difference between these Gods corresponds to some difference in his relationships towards them. There may also be differences which are irrelevant to the principles of composition but which convey some extra information, e.g. the same relationship might apply to several gods, which can then be distinguished by the addition of a particular divine attribute.

A Person may have an aspect as well as an identity. One can think of the aspect as being that part of the form which is sensitive to context, like inflection in language. Thus a King might have two aspects, one when rendering homage to a God, the other when receiving support from a God. The God will then likewise have two aspects, one receiving, the other giving. Some particular god, such as Shamash, might be restricted to only one aspect, at least within the doctrine governing glyptic. Another Person, such as the Intercessor, might have an aspect in common with the God, and so combine with the same aspect of the King. All of this, of course, is derived from simple structures in language. The role and identity of each Person thus have to be considered separately, as they cross-cut each other. Ishtar is not the only deity to adopt the form 5106; nor is 5106 the only attested form of Ishtar. The question of the identity of Persons, which has been extensively explored in the literature, is not investigated here. Instead it is proposed that the main organising principle of the seals is the interaction of roles, with identifying attributes playing a supplementary part. In a full study much longer treatment would be required.

A scene thus depicts two or three Persons suitably disposed so as to convey not just their identities but also their interactions, so as to yield a meaning analogous to that of a simple sentence such as 'the King worships the God' or 'the God supports the King'. The Persons are autonomous actors and are thus all different in order to extract the most meaning from a very restricted format. This rule is fundamental to the approach outlined

⁹ e.g. the symbols are not considered.

¹⁰ Plate II F, A. These account for more than a third of the seals with normal engraving: Collon 1986a, pls. VII-IX, XV-XXII.

¹¹ There are about 250 combinations in the ordinary style, or nearly one for every second seal, apart from the ones with the two standard scenes.

¹² These are labels applied to certain structural regularities. The names that I have chosen are open to objection, but this is a separate issue from that of the existence and properties of the Persons. It would be more correct to say 'there are certain regular features of figures that occur in the centre' than to use the tautologous expression 'the King occurs in the centre', when this is the definition of the King; but a logically pure exposition would be unreadable. I am assuming the existence of Persons in my analysis when in fact its main purpose is to demonstrate them. The reader is invited at the end to consider whether the scheme 'works' on its own terms, and, if not, whether any other scheme that does not involve Persons or some similar concept could do so. I do not think so.

here, and is likewise found to be fundamental to the combinations of observed forms.

The exceptions which do occur have a number of possible explanations. First, duplication of a figure may result from the regular application of the productive rules, in an anomaly accommodated by the doctrine.¹³ Second, duplication may be prescribed to obtain a particular effect such as the simultaneous expression of more than one aspect of the same Person. This is a possible explanation of scenes such as BM III 87-90. The same Person occurs twice in different aspects.¹⁴ A third possibility is that two different Persons may appear under the same form.¹⁵ Finally duplication may result from ignorance of the rules. In this case we are not really dealing with Old Babylonian as a style but with a crude and formless imitation of it. There is a class of such seals, like BM III 80 and 81, which do not have the characteristic engraving present in even the crudest seals which do conform to the Old Babylonian principles of composition, like BM III 87.¹⁶

2.3 Locations.

2.3.1 Elements.

Analysis can proceed in two stages: forms in relation to locations (left, right or centre); and forms in relation to each other. The results of the first stage conditioned the line of approach in the second. It is obvious at once that Old Babylonian operated strict rules of position and orientation, similar to those in First Kassite. We may tabulate:

Two-figure scenes

<i>Posture</i>	<i>Location</i>	
	on left	on right
1 (standing)	437	336
4 (seated)	0	28
5 (ascending)	10	83
	447	447

<i>Dress</i>		
	on left	on right
1 (long)	73	159
4 (open)	33	4
6 (flounced)	46	262
8 (short)	294	22
other	1	0
	447	447

<i>Arms</i>		
	on left	on right
2	17	199
3	54	14
6	2	16
7	272	8
10	34	3
11	33	121
31	0	82
animal-bearer	29	1
other	6	3
	447	447

¹³ This is the case in three-figure scenes with the Interceding Goddess on the left and on the right, e.g. BM III 468, 469, etc.

¹⁴ Cf. in the ninth century, Mallowan 1966, I, 97, fig. 43; II, 453, fig. 373.

¹⁵ This is proposed below, perhaps to an excessive extent, for the figure 1111, e.g. Louvre A330.

¹⁶ The sceptic will not fail to notice that I am providing myself with a formidable battery of excuses for tricky situations. This is one reason why this scheme is presented more as an example of the kind of theory that is required than as a fully supported and developed system.

Three-figure scenes

<i>Posture</i>	<i>Location</i>		
	left	centre	right
1 (standing)	432	429	114
4 (seated)	0	0	164
5 (ascending)	0	3	154
	432	432	432

<i>Dress</i>			
1 (long)	96	220	338
4 (open)	0	69	5
6 (flounced)	302	11	79
8 (short)	33	132	10
other	1	0	0
	432	432	432

<i>Arms</i>			
2	295	1	36
3	33	81	4
6	0	1	31
7	12	116	6
10	35	139	0
11	55	18	239
31	0	2	115
animal-bearer	0	71	1
other	2	3	0
	432	432	432

In almost every case each type has a clear preferred location. The only exceptions are the standing posture, and the long dress (type 1) in three-figure scenes. Otherwise each preferred location is more than twice as common as its nearest rival. As each location has (from the definition of the database) a fixed orientation, these locational rules imply rules of orientation.

There are certain differences between the two kinds of scene. The three-figure scenes show better defined distinctions. This suggests that the three-figure scenes either follow simpler rules or are less likely to break them.¹⁷ The latter possibility seems more likely since three-figure scenes have a more complex structure than the two-figure ones. It is reasonable to suppose that the rules were more carefully followed in the workshops which produced the best engraving. This is supported by the intuitive assessment of quality in the database, where the three-figure scenes are better on average than the two-figure ones.¹⁸

We thus either have a situation where the inferior workshops were carving simplified imitations of the better work; or else two conventions were operating, one of which was of better quality. If the former case obtained, then we would expect the two-figure situation to mirror the three-figure one, and indeed except for some differences in emphasis the tables correspond very well, as we might expect for designs which do not diverge from each other much at first glance. But there is a remarkable difference in two instances. In two-figure scenes, the flounced dress (type 6) is on the right more than five times as often as on the left; whereas in three-figure scenes this dress is nearly four times as common on the left as on the right. Similarly, arms of type 2 are over eleven times as common on the right than on the left in two-figure scenes, but more than eight times as common on the left than on the right in three-figure scenes. Evidently we are confronted here by the Interceding Goddess, 1602. Her locations are:

¹⁷ The two-figure scenes might be more carelessly composed, or they might have complex rules which prescribe different positions according to the context.

¹⁸ The assessment counts about half of the seals as Average, but of the remainder many more are classed as Good than as Poor. The ratio of Good to Poor is more than 3:1 for three-figure scenes, but closer to 5:3 for two-figure ones.

1602

<i>Scene</i>	<i>Location</i>		
	left	centre	right
two-figure	15		199
three-figure	278	0	36

There is thus a clear difference in conventions as well as in quality between the two- and three- figure scenes, at least with respect to the Interceding Goddess. As there are 432 three-figure scenes, the Interceding Goddess, who is on the left in 278, or nearly two-thirds of them, is much the most important figure in that location. If we divide the three-figure scenes on this basis we find a remarkable distribution of the intuitive levels of quality:

Three-figure scenes

<i>on left</i>	<i>Quality</i>		
	Good	Average	Poor
1602	148	124	6
other	12	100	42

Over 90% of the best quality three-figure scenes have an Interceding Goddess on the left.¹⁹ This suggests that we can escape from the unsatisfactory assessments of quality from intuition, and instead define two conventions in three-figure scenes by the presence or absence of the Interceding Goddess on the left.

There are 36 seals where this figure 1602 is on the right in a three-figure scene. About half of these are combined with the same figure, 1602, on the left. It is thus possible for 1602 to be on the right in the Good convention²⁰ as well as in the Poor.²¹ We cannot therefore use the presence or absence of 1602 on the right to differentiate between the two conventions in two-figure scenes. Instead, it can be proposed that the Good convention constructs a two-figure scene according to some rules, and then adds an Interceding Goddess to the left to form a three-figure scene; while the Poor convention has some different method of construction. The Good two-figure scenes may thus be identified provisionally by investigating the combinations of the figures that occur in the centre and on the right in the Good three-figure scenes.

2.4 Three-figure scenes.

2.4.1 The Good convention.

It was proposed above that a Good-quality convention could be defined in three-figure scenes by the presence of the Interceding Goddess, 1602, on the left. These scenes are constructed by adding the goddess to the left of a two-figure scene, which can in most cases be described by the simple formula *King-God*.²² The normal forms of the King, that is the central figure, are: 1103, 1403, 1807, 1110 and the animal-bearer. The normal forms of the God, the figure on the right, are: 1111, 1611, 4111, 4611, 5106, 5111 and 5131.²³ This gives 35 possible scenes, of which over twenty occur. The theory outlined above supposes that particular forms of the King should prefer particular forms of the God, and this is borne out by the following table:

¹⁹ Of the remaining 12 seals, 6 have the figure 1610 which may be a male equivalent of the Interceding Goddess: Collon 1986a, 26 (A.7a).

²⁰ From now on, unless the intuitive assessment is explicitly invoked, Good and Poor will refer to separate sets of rules, irrespective of the actual quality of the seals involved.

²¹ On the intuitive assessment, 8 of the 17 cases of a three-figure scene with 1602 both on the left and the right are Good and 1 Poor.

²² These are convenient labels for the figures occupying these locations. The identification may be incorrect, but this does not affect the validity of the structural argument given below.

²³ As a coding convention the Open dress, type 4, is not assigned to figures in the ascending posture, type 5.

Good convention (1602 on left)

in centre	on right								
	1111	1611	4111	4611	5106	5111	5131		other
1103	0	4	4	3	0	5	10	4	30
1403	0	0	0	3	1	1	1	0	6
1807	7	1	0	0	21	2	14	18	63
1110	0	0	110	2	0	1	1	0	114
bearer	0	0	2	3	3	2	41	0	51
other	0	0	1	4	3	1	2	3	14
	7	5	117	15	28	12	69	25	278

We should notice first that only one figure, the 'King with mace' 1807, occurs commonly in a scene that is not included in this table (namely when it faces the Interceding Goddess). If we ignore for the moment the less frequent types in the table we obtain:

Good convention: major types

on left	on right			
	4111	5131	5106	
1110	110	1	0	111
1103	4	10	0	14
bearer	2	41	3	46
1807	0	14	21	35
	116	66	24	206

This table has been arranged to emphasise the pattern. It covers three-quarters of the seals described by the previous table. The first dimension that now needs to be controlled is that of time. It is striking in the dated Old Babylonian designs (al-Gailani Werr 1980) how much more common the scene 1807-1602 is than 1602-1110-4111. The former occurs twenty or forty times (depending on how much reconstruction is acceptable). There is a clear case of the latter on p. 38 (VR 255), possible examples on pp. 37 (UEX 440) and 42 (no. 15), and a case with an extra figure on p. 41 (bottom). Given the popularity of this three-figure scene in the collections it is clear that there is a strong bias against it among the dated seals. The obvious explanation is chronological. The standard three-figure presentation is so common in collections that it must have been the main subject of the glyptic production at some time; but it is not so for any known period. However only the first six designs in al-Gailani Werr 1980 can be assigned to the twentieth century. Of these three are late cases of the Ur III leading goddess, and all but the last have a seated figure. Three have a central figure 1110. Thus although there is no actual example of the standard scene dated to the twentieth century, it fits in well enough with the rather unusual designs that are so dated. This is confirmed by the existence of 1602-1110-4111 already in the Ur III period (Collon 1986a, 59 n.1). So we have an exceptionally common scene which is not predominant in any known period, but which occurs just after and just before the only relevant century which is not well attested. We may thus assign to the twentieth century the Old Babylonian scenes with a leading goddess or of the form 1602-1110-4111, together with a few other pieces,²⁴ including probably some of the contest scenes (cf. al-Gailani Werr 1988, 53). With the opening of the nineteenth century a more complex situation developed, marked especially by the rise of the 'King with mace' 1807.²⁵

There is good reason to suppose that in the Ur III period the central figure 1110 depicted the owner of the seal and that the design represented the bureaucratic relationship between king and official (Franke 1977, Winter 1986, 1987). If I am right in supposing that the central figures in the mature Old Babylonian seals, 1807, 1103, the animal-bearer, etc. are more likely to represent the King, or in some cases a divine figure performing a similar role,²⁶ than the owner, then there is a shift in the meaning of the central figure over this period. Either the disappearance of the earlier presentation scene was due to this change in meaning;²⁷ or conceivably the change occurred at the beginning of the Isin-Larsa period when there is some evidence for the confusion of the deified king and the god at a time when former governors became kings (cf. Winter 1987, 83-4; Franke 1977, 63-4). Whether the replacement of 1110 by 1807 implies any equivalence in meaning may well be doubted; but it may be that in both cases the essential element is that the lesser party receives support from the greater, though in the mature Old Babylonian form conceived in a martial rather than a judicial context. In

²⁴ Such as Diyala 709, which is recut (al-Gailani Werr 1988, 10, citing Porada).

²⁵ Collon 1986a, 38, 100. The figure 1807 has long-standing antecedents outside glyptic such as in the Stele of Naram-Sin.

²⁶ 1807 and 1103 because of the royal stelai; a supernatural figure where there are special divine attributes, e.g. 1807 with a pointed cap (al-Gailani Werr 1988, 17), or the bullman as animal-bearer.

²⁷ I.e. it is not a precursor of the scenes of the mature phase.

fact it is permissible to see a general change in iconography at the beginning of the nineteenth century in which most of the standard Old Babylonian figures came into use (see Collon 1986a, table facing p. 1). The top left hand corner of our table thus represents a chronological distinction. Among the remaining figures, 1103 and the animal-bearer have similar distributions so we can combine them to give:

Good convention, mature phase: major figures

	on right	
on left	5131	5106
1103 + bearer	51	3
1807	14	21

It may be suggested that we have here two different relationships between the King and the God. 1103 is conventionally described as a 'worshipper' and it is reasonable to suppose that the animal-bearer is bringing an offering to sacrifice. This is then the aspect of the King where he is offering worship to a God. The preferred form of God, 5131, is usually given the attributes of Shamash (Plate II C; Collon 1986a, 138). 1807, the 'King with mace', on the other hand, is a martial aspect of the King, as exemplified by the stele of Naram-Sin. He prefers to face the God 5106, which normally takes the form of a martial aspect of Ishtar (Plate II B; Collon 1986a, 156). Here the King is more probably receiving support from the God than rendering homage. This is confirmed by the standard scene where 1807 faces the Interceding Goddess 1602.²⁸ This minor deity is a helping figure who again gives support to mankind rather than receiving homage (Spycket 1960). It must be stressed that there is considerable 'leakage' in this scheme and there are plenty of seals which do not follow the most common combinations. This is no doubt because the roles that could be played by each god were not rigidly demarcated.²⁹

The argument so far can be summarised as follows. The aim is to define a set of Persons whose interactions explain the conventions of the Old Babylonian seals as economically as possible. There is only one major discrepancy between the orientations of the figure elements in the scenes with two and three figures. The figure 1602 nearly always faces left in the former but can face right as well in the latter. The seals with this figure 1602 on the left in three-figure scenes are also on average (in an intuitive assessment) of better quality than are those with some other figure there, and such seals of the best quality nearly always have 1602 on the left. A 'Good convention' in three-figure scenes was thus defined by the presence of this Person 1602, the Interceding Goddess, on the left. In a few cases 1602 also occurs on the right. In all of the other designs in the Good convention the most economical solution is to define two other Persons, the King in the centre and the God on the right. The Good convention thus prescribes two scene types, *Intercessor - King - Intercessor*, and *Intercessor - King - God*. The combinations of figure types allow us to distinguish three kinds of King. The figure 1110 occurs in almost all of the scenes where the God is seated (type 4111: Plate II A). This is an early variant, belonging especially to the twentieth century. The figure 1807 is distinguished by the fact that it is almost always the kind of King found in the scenes with the form *Intercessor - King - Intercessor* (e.g. 599; Plate II E). The other common forms in the central position are 1103 and the animal-bearer. These prefer to face a God of form 5131 ('Shamash': Plate II C), while the 'King with mace' 1807 more often faces 5106 ('Ishtar': Plate II B), though this distinction is by no means absolute. It was proposed that the scene of 1103 or the animal-bearer facing 5131 represents an act of devotion rendered by the King to the God, while 1807 is the King in martial aspect receiving divine support, either from the Interceding Goddess 1602 or from the martial deity 5106. Since 1807 replaced 1110 it may be that the early standard scene signified the present king receiving support from the deified king.

The other common forms of God can be assimilated to this scheme. 1611 and 5111 both prefer to face 1103 and thus represent variants of 5131. The main type, 5131, is usually characterised as Shamash and the rarer forms may represent other gods whose relation to the King is similar to that of Shamash. Likewise the God 1111 prefers to face 1807 and thus has a similar role to 5106, which normally represents Ishtar.

With the onset of the mature phase of the Good convention the deified king 4111 disappeared. But the flounced god 4611 continued in regular use in the mature phase of the Old Babylonian period, where it is, like flounced figures generally, a hallmark of the Sippar style (Collon 1986a, 61, al-Gailani Werr 1988, 55). The syntax of the Sippar seals tends to be more complicated than usual, with a regular use of five-figure scenes,³⁰ but the figure types generally appear in the same order. The seated god 4611 is normally found directly faced

²⁸ Of the 17 three-figure scenes with 1602 both on the left and on the right, 14 have 1807 in the centre; and of course 1807-1602 is the most common two-figure scene.

²⁹ This distinction is noted by Collon 1987, 45.

³⁰ e.g. BM III 359; al-Gailani Werr 1980, 63 (Louvre A527), 66, 73 (Louvre A552); al-Gailani Werr 1988, 40.

by one of the several kinds of animal-bearer.³¹ The figure behind the god is normally of form 1611 with a frontal face.³² This figure is a Sippar speciality (al-Gailani Werr 1988, 39). At the extreme left is the Interceding Goddess 1602, thus conforming to the Good convention where she is added to the left of a complete scene to 'reinforce' it. Between her and the animal-bearer there may be a figure 1610, though it may also be behind her.³³ In view of this Collon's suggestion that this is a male equivalent of the Interceding Goddess is plausible.³⁴ At Sippar, therefore, the figure 4611 occurs in elaborations of a scene 1602 - *animal-bearer* - 4611,³⁵ which makes it a contextual equivalent of the 'receiving god' 5131.³⁶

The seated figure became very rare in later Old Babylonian. In a few Drilled examples³⁷ it faces 1103 or the animal-bearer, clearly in the mature tradition, and probably in a transformation of the Sippar style. Although this figure is in a plain robe it is more likely to represent a god than the deified king as the flounced robe is relatively rare in the Drilled style. Schematic Elamite seems to be related to the same tradition (see below, p. 47), and so does the Kassite scene 1103-4111 (see below, p. 50).

2.4.2 The Good convention: summary of the rules.

We may conclude this section by stating the main rules for three-figure scenes with an Interceding Goddess on the left. It is important to remember that this is a simplification of a situation that was certainly more complicated.

The Good convention applies to Old Babylonian seals in an early phase and a mature phase with a transition in the early nineteenth century. The mature phase ends with the onset of the drilled style in the late eighteenth century (al-Gailani Werr 1980, 34).

There are three Persons, the Intercessor, King and God. These appear in two scenes. *Intercessor - King - God* occurs in both phases. *Intercessor - King - Intercessor* only occurs in the mature phase. These two scenes may result from a rule producing a three-figure scene by adding an Intercessor to the left of a two-figure scene which has a King on the left.

The Intercessor is of form 1602.³⁸ The God and the King each have two aspects corresponding to two relations between them, either worship from the King to the God, or support from the God to the King. The Intercessor is always supporting in aspect.

In the early phase the King takes the forms 1110 (supported?) and 1103. The God has the forms 4111 (deified king: supporting?) and 4611. In the mature phase the King has the forms 1807 (supported); and 1103 or animal-bearer (worshipping).³⁹ The God has the forms 5131 (worshipped)⁴⁰ and 5106 (supporting).⁴¹

There are 278 seals in the database with three-figure scenes where 1602 is on the left. 199 have regular designs following the above rules with figures of types 1602, 1110, 1103, 4111, 4611, 1807, 5131, 5106 and the animal-bearers with Open dresses (type 4). If we also include the lesser variants mentioned above then we have 238 regular scenes in a field of 295 seals. 39 seals actually break the rules, and 18 involve other figure types.

In the intuitive assessment of quality 34% of the three-figure scenes were considered to be of better than average quality while 10% were of lower. The corresponding figures for the scenes with the Interceding Goddess on the left are 52% and 2%. This is because this is the arrangement preferred by the best quality seals.⁴² 86% of these better-quality seals obey the rules given above and 4.5% break them. The seals of average

³¹ Examples in al-Gailani 1980: 41, third row (open dress and raised hand); 74, top row (open dress); 73, second row (flounced dress); 53, second row (bullman).

³² e.g. al-Gailani Werr 1980, 78, central row.

³³ al-Gailani Werr 1980, 63, fourth row; 66, bottom row; cf. 63, third row and BM III 359.

³⁴ This is supported by the occasional presence of 1610 on the left of high-quality three-figure scenes (e.g. BM III 470, Copenhagen 40, VR 382, Susa 1757, Guimet 68). There is some doubt as to the sex of 1610. Collon's argument (1986a, 26) holds good for most of the examples outside the Sippar style, and she includes the Sippar seal BM III 359. But it may be that the full-face Sippar deity is female (al-Gailani Werr 1988, 39) and had some other function.

³⁵ Plate II D; al-Gailani Werr 1980, 74 (Louvre A553), Diyala 942, BM III 94, 96, Brett 164.

³⁶ Both gods, 5131 in mature Old Babylonian and 4611 in the Sippar style, may normally be identified with Shamash, cf. al-Gailani Werr 1988, 38.

³⁷ BM III 110, Newell 195, Yale 1076, Collon AOAT 135, Ash 550.

³⁸ And probably also 1610 in some mature seals; there is also a Diyala variant 1102 which is discussed below in the section on the Poor convention (p. 36).

³⁹ 1403 is another variant. Note that at Sippar and in some ordinary seals the bearer can have a flounced robe or be a bullman. It is less easy to identify these figures with the King.

⁴⁰ Usually 'Shamash'; also 1611, 5111 and, at Sippar, 4611.

⁴¹ Usually 'Ishtar'; also 1111.

⁴² 154 of the 160 three-figure scenes with above average quality engraving are of this kind.

or poor quality⁴³ obey in 75%, and break the rules in 17% of the designs. We may conclude, as the lower quality work is more likely to break the rules, that our sample includes some cheap and ignorant imitations of the Good convention. But as there are also finely cut pieces which do not obey them, it is reasonable to suppose that they are deficient in some respects, perhaps due to local elaborations and reinterpretations.⁴⁴

2.5 The Poor convention.

2.5.1 *The King and the Man.*

The Poor convention is defined in three-figure scenes by the absence of the Interceding Goddess 1602 on the left. The figures with Open dresses, 1403 and the animal-bearer, and the martial deity 5106 ('Ishtar'), do not have a significant distribution outside the Good convention. The main alternative figures on the left are 1110, 1103 and 1807, which were forms of the King, and 1111 and 1811. If we tabulate the 120 three-figure scenes without 1602, 1610 or 1102⁴⁵ on the left we find:

Poor convention (three-figure scenes)

figure type	Location		
	left	centre	right
1110	17	12	0
1103	31	28	2
1807	10	46	1
1111	28	9	20
1811	21	7	2
other	13	18	95

The most obvious feature of this table is that, with the exception of 1111, the figure types which dominate the left and centre positions do not occur on the right. We have already seen that 1111 in the Good convention can appear on the right as a form of God. We may assume that our figure types, with the possible exception of 1111, do not represent the God.

Next we may observe a difference between the three types of King, 1110, 1103 and 1807, and the other two figures. The Kings have at least a third of their cases in the central position, while 1811 and 1111 are three times as common on the left as in the centre. It therefore seems unlikely that 1811 and 1111 represent the same Person as the King.

The combinations of these figures on the left and in the centre are:

Poor convention (three-figure scenes)

on left	in the centre						
	1110	1103	1807	1111	1811	other	
1110	1	8	3	2	0	3	17
1103	9	0	14	1	1	6	31
1807	0	7	0	0	0	3	10
1111	1	6	12	5	3	1	28
1811	1	5	11	1	1	2	21
other	0	2	6	0	2	3	13
	12	28	46	9	7	18	120

It is apparent that the figure types do not combine with themselves, except 1111. This is in accordance with what seems to be one of the most basic Old Babylonian rules, as we have found before. The cases where 1111 combines with itself are all of exceptionally low quality.⁴⁶ As the clear differentiation of the left-hand and central figures is otherwise so well attested in Old Babylonian it seems best to discount these seals as too crude to know the rules. The same is probably true of the three seals with 1111 on the left and 1811 in the centre.⁴⁷

Thus 1811 and 1111 are certainly less common in the central position than the three Kings, and it is possible to discount their presence there entirely. It is proposed that they are forms of a fourth Person, who

⁴³ Counted together as there are too few of the latter to be useful.

⁴⁴ e.g. Louvre A372, 420.

⁴⁵ 1102 is discussed below.

⁴⁶ BM III 80, 81, Yale 701, 756, Diyala 731.

⁴⁷ BM III 485, 531, VR 446.

(from his lack of identifying characteristics) may be called the Man.⁴⁸ We then have two right-facing Persons in the Poor convention, the King either on the left or in the centre, and the Man usually on the left.

When the King is on the left, therefore, he is combined with himself in the centre. There are 58 seals with 1103, 1110 or 1807 on the left. 42 of them have one of these three forms in the centre as well, though not the same one. The purpose seems to be to combine more than one aspect of the King on the same seal. This represents a confusion of the principles of the Good convention, but not an illogical one. The three figures combine more or less freely, except for a marked dissociation between 1110 and 1807. This may be explained, as in the Good convention, by chronology. There is no reason to suppose that the earlier form existed in the twentieth century, but we do have good evidence for it in the mid nineteenth century at Tell al-Dhiba'i, as shown by al-Gailani Werr (1988, 24, 31). As she recognises, this is not a case of ignorant debasement, but of a local, not very fine, workshop with its own principles of composition. Of the 17 seals with a combination of 1103 and 1110, 10 have the 'Deified King' 4111 on the right in accordance with the conventions of the early phase.⁴⁹

The idea that the Poor convention originated in the Diyala is supported by the distribution of the figure 1102, the Interceding Goddess in a plain robe.⁵⁰ The only common context of this figure is *1102-1110-4111*, i.e. a form of the standard twentieth century scene.⁵¹ The existence of two cases from Tell Asmar,⁵² one stratified as 'early Larsa', suggests that this is the scene's homeland. If a simplifying tradition developed in the Diyala in the twentieth century, then its hallmark of a figure on the left in a plain robe could have been inherited by the Dhiba'i workshop in the nineteenth, though applied now to the King rather than to the Intercessor.

The 'King with mace' 1807 becomes steadily more important in the Diyala during the nineteenth century (al-Gailani Werr 1988, 17-19). His main role, here as everywhere else, was facing the Interceding Goddess 1602 (al-Gailani Werr 1988, 33), but we have 21 cases of him replacing 1110 in the scene with two Kings (Plate II M). There is no reason to suppose that now in the mature phase of the Old Babylonian period the Poor convention was located particularly in the Diyala. The two forms of the Man, 1811 and 1111, do not usually combine with 1110 in the centre. They occur commonly with either 1807 or 1103, so they may be assigned to the mature phase (Plate II K,L).

Before going on to the figures which occur on the right it may be helpful to summarise the argument on the Poor convention so far. This convention is defined in three-figure scenes by the absence of the Interceding Goddess on the left. It originated at the transition between the early and mature phases of the Old Babylonian period, probably in the Diyala region, but may have had a precursor there in the seals of standard twentieth century form in which the Intercessor wears a plain robe.

There are five figure types which commonly face right. Three of these, 1110, 1103 and 1807, appear either on the left or in the centre, and are already known as forms of the King in the Good convention. The other two, 1111 and 1811, are not known facing right in the Good convention. They do not occur in the centre, except for a few very crude seals which do not obey the most fundamental principles of Old Babylonian composition. The three Kings combine freely with each other (though not with themselves), except for 1110 and 1807, which were divided chronologically in the Good convention. The other two forms, which may be called the Man, do not usually combine with 1110 and thus belong to the later phase.

2.5.2 *The Gods in the Poor convention.*

We have already seen that in the early phase, when the King 1110 was in use, the 'Deified King' 4111 was the normal Person on the right. As in the Good convention, the situation becomes more complicated in the mature phase. According to the rules just described, there are six permitted combinations in the left and centre:

⁴⁸ He could perhaps represent the owner of the seal. 1811 is a common form of the god Amurru who occurs on seals which do not conform to our conventions and are not discussed here. Cf. Collon 1986a, 28 (A.13).

⁴⁹ No other figure occurs more than once on the right. Plate II J.

⁵⁰ This is the early form, where the waist is clearly marked, there are vertical lines on the robe and she wears a horned crown (e.g. BM III 85, 86), not the later type, drawn by Collon 1986a, 39 (B.9), which is not directly related.

⁵¹ Plate II I; BM III 85, 86, Yale 706, Louvre A277, Diyala 752, 764.

⁵² Cf. also Diyala 732, 951.

Mature phase: regular figures facing right

<i>left+centre</i>	<i>on right</i>						
	1602	5131	5111	1111	1131	other	
1103-1807-	4	2	1	4	0	3	14
1807-1103-	0	2	2	3	0	0	7
1111-1103-	0	3	2	1	0	0	6
1811-1103-	0	1	0	1	1	2	5
1111-1807-	8	1	1	1	1	0	12
1811-1807-	0	1	1	4	4	1	11
	12	10	7	14	6	6	55

The number of cases is too small for the frequencies of the individual combinations to be very informative. There are five figures that regularly occur on the right. Three of them (1111, 5111, 5131) are known to us as Gods in the Good convention. There is no reason to suppose that the distinction between Gods that prefer one or other of the King's aspects, which was proposed for the Good convention, applies here. The first two rows of the table include Kings. If the Poor convention were interested in the different implications of the King's aspects for his relationship to the God it would not regularly combine the two aspects together.

The most striking thing about the table is that the Interceding Goddess 1602 only combines with the 'King with mace' 1807 in the centre and never combines with 1811 on the left. This suggests that the particular link between 1602 and the 1807 form of the King was so strong that it was preserved even in the Poor convention. To be sure this contradicts what has just been said about the respect for aspects in the relationship between the King and the God; but the scene *1807-1602* is a special case.⁵³

If this is so, then we have to explain the absence of a scene *1811-1807-1602*. The rule for the Man seems to be that he is added to the left of a two-figure scene. Why then is his form of 1811 not added to the left of the most common of such scenes? 1811 frequently combines with 1807, but the figure on the right is then 1111 or 1131. To understand this we should return to the intuitive assessments of quality. In the table below the field is the same 55 seals defined by the last table.

Poor convention with regular figures facing right

<i>left or centre</i>	<i>Intuitive quality assessment</i>			
	Good	Average	Poor	
1103	0	26	6	32
1807	1	30	13	44
1111	1	13	4	18
1811	0	9	7	16
	2	78	30	110
<i>on right</i>				
1602	1	11	0	12
5131	0	10	1	10
5111	0	5	2	7
1111	0	8	6	14
1131	0	1	5	6
other	0	4	2	6
	1	39	15	55

The shortage of good-quality seals is as we might expect. There are more than twice as many seals counted as average in quality as of low quality, and this ratio is maintained for most of the individual types, except for 1111 and 1811, which have roughly equal numbers of both, and 1131 which is almost always in the coarsest seals. A reasonable explanation is that the ascending posture, type 5, was not recognised in the lower reaches of the Poor convention, so that 1111 and 1131 are coarse equivalents of 5111 and 5131. However 1111 also exists as a separate God in the Good convention. Therefore although all of our cases of 1131 are coarse imitations of 5131, the figure 1111 in the Poor convention is sometimes the same as the figure 1111 in the

⁵³ Of the 447 two-figure scenes with ordinary engraving no less than 191, or over 40%, show this scene. It is as dominating in the two-figure scenes as *1602-1110-4111* is in the three-figure ones.

Good convention, and sometimes a coarse imitation of 5111. This explains why 1131 is always very low in quality, while 1111 is sometimes of average quality.⁵⁴

The Poor convention may then have had two versions which did not differ in principle. The better form includes all of the scenes with two Kings, all of the scenes with the Interceding Goddess 1602, Gods of types 5111 and 5131, and the Man of type 1111 (Plate II K, M). The worse form has the Man of type 1811 and the God of form 1131 (Plate II L). Both versions have the Kings of type 1807 or 1103 and the God of type 1111. In the following table the top two rows represent the better version and the bottom row the worse one. The first column shows the better version, the second both versions and the third the worse one.

Mature phase: regular figures facing right

on left	on right				
	1602+5131+5111	1111	1131	other	
King-King-	11	7	0	3	21
Man 1111	15	2	1	0	18
Man 1811	3	5	5	3	16
	29	14	6	6	55

2.6 Two-figure scenes.

It may be expected that two-figure scenes follow the same conventions as three-figure ones. Thus in the Good convention the loss of the Interceding Goddess 1602 from the left should supply the two-figure equivalent of each scene. In fact this figure is indeed rare on the left in two-figure scenes, though there are some examples.⁵⁵ The Interceding Goddess is expected to occur only on the right, and then only in company with the 'King with mace' 1807. The same prediction is made in the Poor convention, which may be one reason for the excessive popularity of the scene.⁵⁶ As we saw in the Poor convention the connection between 1807 and 1602 is so strong that it overrides the other rules, so that scenes of the form 1807-x-1602 do not occur.⁵⁷ Therefore these three-figure Poor scenes follow the Good convention of having an extra figure, here either King or Man, added to the left of a two-figure scene.

Seals in the Poor convention with a God on the right showed two distinctions, one of time and the other of quality; while the equivalent Good scenes, of the form *Intercessor* - *King* - *God*, showed distinctions of time and of aspect. The chronological rule prescribes that the King 1110 should combine with the 'Deified King' 4111, while the 'King with mace' 1807 will prefer some God in standing or ascending posture. In the following table the field is of two-figure scenes with ordinary cutting which have 1110 or 1807 on the left and any figure other than 1602 on the right.

Two-figure King-God scenes with 1110 or 1807

on left	on right								
	4111	5106	1111	5111	5131	1631	1131	other	
1110	12	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	16
1807	0	3	17	7	3	10	19	15	78

The prediction is fulfilled, but some of the other features of this table are unexpected. The three-figure scene 1602-1110-4111 is remarkable for its consistently high quality. Sixty cases were assessed to be of excellent quality, compared with only two coarse ones.⁵⁸ In the two-figure equivalent, 1110-4111, however, there are five coarse cases to only one of exceptional quality.⁵⁹ In general, three-figure scenes are of better quality than two-

⁵⁴ The figure 1111 is being assigned on rather thin evidence to a multiplicity of roles: (1) a God in the Good convention, syntactically similar to 'Ishtar'; (2) a God in the Poor convention, similar to (1); (3) a God in the Poor convention, coarsely imitating 5111; (4) the Man in the better version of the Poor convention; and (5) a figure found in seals too crude to follow the Old Babylonian principles of composition. The intuitive assessments of quality are in accordance with these roles in every case, and each results from the application of simple premises, but I have not undertaken a closer study of the details of the rendering of this figure which might bear on the problem. Collon 1986a, 27 (A.9) and 38 (B.8) considers that both the divine and the human forms can face in either direction. The question is further complicated by the large number of seals with this figure which belong to the style which features the god Amurru and the nude goddess (Collon 1986a, 132, e.g. BM III 291, 306-311). These seals do not belong to the traditions described here, cf. for 1811 see p. 36 above.

⁵⁵ No pattern is discernible in these, but some are obviously irregular, such as Yale 809 and Louvre A388 where the orientations are the reverse of what we might expect. This may be the usage of some small workshop, cf. at Carchemish, Collon 1987, 50.

⁵⁶ There are 199 two-figure scenes with 1602 on the right, of which 191 show the regular scene.

⁵⁷ e.g. we have 1103-1807-1602 and 1111-1807-1602 but not 1807-1103-1602 or 1807-1111-1602.

⁵⁸ Yale 704, Louvre A256.

⁵⁹ Ash 442. In both formats most cases are average in quality.

figure ones. The inconsistency here seems to imply that two-figure scenes can represent cheap versions of three-figure ones.

The same anomaly appears in the partners of 1807. In the three-figure scenes of the Good convention, about three-quarters of the Gods combining with 1807 were of the forms 5106 ('Ishtar') or 5131 ('Shamash'). This is ten times as common as here. In the Poor convention, 5111 and 5131 had about a third of the cases and 1131 only about one in six. In the two-figure scenes, however, 5111 and 5131 have more like an eighth, while a quarter of the seals with 1807 on the left have 1131 on the right. Once again, there is a concentration on those combinations which were characteristic of the lowest quality seals in the three-figure scenes.⁶⁰

In Good three-figure scenes it was suggested that the Kings and Gods in the mature phase of the Old Babylonian period could each be divided into two groups according to two kinds of relation between them. Kings of the form 1103, 1403 or the animal-bearers are rendering devotion to a God normally of type 5131, while the martial King 1807 receives support from a God 5106. In two-figure scenes, defining the field by the presence of 5106 or 5131 on the right, we have:

Two-figure scenes, 5106 or 5131 on right

on left	on right		
	5106	5131	
1103, 1403	3	11	14
bearer	2	13	15
1807	5	3	8
other	5	6	11
	15	33	48

The tendencies are as we expect but the distinction is not as strongly expressed in the martial aspect. In three-figure scenes of the Good convention, with the same field definition, there are less than twice as many Kings of types 1103, 1403 or animal-bearer than there are of type 1807. Here there are well over three times as many. It looks therefore as though the excessively strong link between 1807 and 1602, which we have seen affecting the Poor convention, also has the effect on two-figure scenes of the Good convention of reducing the incidence of 1807 in any other context. The seals with the scene *1807-5106* are of unusually fine quality, like most seals with this God.⁶¹ But there are not many of them, as the very best seals dislike two-figure scenes. Two-figure scenes other than the very best are unlikely to escape from the lure of reproducing *1807-1602*. There is a substantial minority of scenes, mostly two-figure, which break the rule that arms 3 should always face right. The same is true of the other main royal arm posture, type 7. There is a strong tendency in such designs to have more than one 'King' facing each other.⁶² This must be a sub-style with rules of its own characterised by some peculiarities of engraving: forms are linear and simplified, rather small in scale, and competently rather than beautifully cut. Collon⁶³ suggests a northern origin,⁶⁴ and it may also have been made up the Euphrates from the popularity of the god Amurru. Al-Gailani Werr (1988, 12-15, pl.VII) discusses a god who has arms of type 7. This god faces left, unlike the King. His failure to combine with the suppliant goddess (p. 14) demonstrates that he does not belong to the mainstream tradition discussed here.⁶⁵

2.7 Secondary Old Babylonian styles.

2.7.1 'Provincial Babylonian'

The Old Babylonian period was not one in which northern Mesopotamia was a different cultural region from the south, though it did have some strong local peculiarities, especially in the early style of c. 1900 BC

⁶⁰ The prominence of the God 1631 is curious. He appears on the right in about 4.5% of all the two-figure scenes with normal engraving. The corresponding proportion in three-figure scenes is less than 2%. The quality of seals with this figure is usually average and I have no particular explanation for its role. It does not usually occur in seals of the Sippar style (as we might expect from the flounced robe), but it is a standard figure in the Linear seals, e.g. Ash 540, 542, VR 440, which are overwhelmingly two-figured. It may thus belong to some special workshop with ordinary engraving which later developed the linear cutting style.

⁶¹ Or rather, in this case, Goddess. BM III 384, Ash 505, BN 169, 224, 239.

⁶² e.g. BM III 204, 247, 282, 408-414.

⁶³ 1986a, 132, cf. also 4, 158.

⁶⁴ Cf. also the new stele of Dadusha of Eshnunna (shown by Dr. al-Gailani Werr in a lecture to the British School of Archaeology in Iraq in November 1988), which has a scene *Smiting figure - 1803*.

⁶⁵ See Collon 1986a, pl. XXIII, seals with the nude female. Note that the figure 1811 is characterised as the god Amurru in nos. 314 - 316. Seals with this god (Collon 1986a, 28: A.13) are particularly likely not to conform to the rules described here, e.g. BM III 426, 440, 447, 536, 552, 554, 584, all of which either have 1811 facing left or break one of the normal rules for orientation in arm positions. A separate tradition must be involved.

known as 'Old Assyrian'. This style is chiefly known from the impressions in the archives of the Assyrian merchants in Cappadocia, and it is too far removed from the main Old Babylonian tradition to be worth investigating here. In the later, eighteenth century, phase of the Cappadocian archives the Old Assyrian style converged towards Old Babylonian. This 'Provincial Babylonian' style is conveniently described by Porada (1948a, 109-110); later its history as the latest phase of Old Assyrian became better understood as a result of the publication of the excavated material from Kanesh.⁶⁶ The general appearance of Provincial Babylonian is similar to normal Old Babylonian, but the engraving is more linear and there are typical stylistic traits such as a broad hatched band on the headgear. Provincial Babylonian seals are rare in collections and only 44 were included in my database, most of them with three-figure scenes. The remarks presented here thus have an inadequate basis.

The figure elements are similar to Old Babylonian, with the same range of postures and dresses, though the short dress is rare. Arms of types 6 and 7 are also uncommon. Type 6 in the main style occurred principally in 'Ishtar', 5106, who was confined to the best-quality seals. She is very rare in Provincial Babylonian.⁶⁷ The short dress and arms 7 combine to give the 'King with mace' 1807, one of the most important figures in the main style. His rarity in Provincial Babylonian is striking.⁶⁸

In three-figure scenes the only important figure on the left is 1602, which occurs there in three-quarters of the seals.⁶⁹ This is in accordance with the Good convention. In the centre the main figures are 1103, 1403, 1110 and the animal-bearer. On the right there is normally 4111, 4611, 5111 or 5131. If we tabulate:

Provincial Babylonian: three-figure

<i>in centre</i>	<i>on right</i>					
	4111	4611	5111	5131	other	
1110	4	1	0	0	0	5
1103	0	2	6	0	0	8
1403	0	1	1	0	1	3
bearer	0	0	0	8	0	8
other	3	0	2	0	3	8
	7	4	9	8	4	32

As in the main style, 1110 and 4111 keep together.⁷⁰ The separation between the other types is not, however, what is expected. There appear to be two relations between the King and the God, both of which use the forms which belong to the worshipping relation in the Good convention. Provincial Babylonian is making a sharp distinction between 1103/1403 combining with 4611/5111 (Plate II H), and the animal-bearer combining with 5131 (Plate II G). The comparable table for the Good convention would be:

Worshipping relation in three-figure Good convention

<i>on left</i>	<i>on right</i>	
	4611+5111	5131
1103+1403	12	11
bearer	5	41

Given that 5131 is much more common than 4611 and 5111 together, the preference in this table is indeed in accordance with the Provincial Babylonian situation; but where Provincial Babylonian has 18 seals obeying the rule and none breaking it, the Good convention has 53 obeying and a substantial 16 disobeying. The strength of the Provincial distinction leaves no room for doubt that this is a significant difference, that worshipping by gesture is proper to a different kind, or aspect, of God than worshipping by offering sacrifice. The tendency of the Good convention table indicates that here this distinction was indeed recognised, but not universally. This could be either because the rule took the form of a preference rather than an absolute prescription, or else because the Good convention includes a number of minor sub-styles which agree about a worshipping relation in general but have different rules for its exact expression. The strong Provincial rule leads me to suppose that the latter is more likely, and that Provincial Babylonian is the offshoot of some particular subdivision of the Good convention. There are so few two-figure scenes that there is no visible pattern in their combinations.

⁶⁶ Özgüç 1968, 48; Porada 1980a, 16; Teissier 1984, 67-8.

⁶⁷ Yale 1126: aberrant because 5106 is combined with 4111.

⁶⁸ Yale 1139, Newell 202.

⁶⁹ Sometimes the alternative Intercessor 1610 appears, e.g. Marcopoli 503, BN 277.

⁷⁰ I know of no evidence bearing on whether this is likewise an earlier form.

Level II at Kanesh ends in about 1850 BC (Collon 1987, 41). Provincial Babylonian originated sometime between then and the beginning of level Ib perhaps half a century later. The absence of the scene 1807-1602 confirms an origin in the nineteenth century as it was so strongly entrenched in Babylonia by 1800 BC (al-Gailani Werr 1988, 54, cf. 57) that it is difficult to see Babylonia exerting an influence abroad without it.⁷¹

Provincial Babylonian is unquestionably derived from the Good convention, but apparently developed from some sub-group within it which concentrated on the worshipping relation in the scene *Intercessor-King-God* and recognised two aspects to the act of worship.

2.7.2 The Linear style.

The Linear style was one of the consequences of the general stylistic change of the late eighteenth century. Like the Drilled style it involves a simplification of the manner of engraving, using a cutting wheel, accompanied here by elongation and without fine detail or the use of the drill.⁷² The style is rare - there are only 28 cases in the database. This is partly because the favourite scenes have single figures or two figures facing an inscription between them. In accordance with this preference for simplicity the two-figure scene is much more common than the three-figure one.

The only recurrent two-figure scenes are 1807-1602 and 1807-1631 (Plate II N, O). The three-figure scenes are all different, but all have 1631 on the right and at least one of 1807, 1602 and 1610 on the left or in the centre. This is a very different world from the Provincial style. That was essentially three-figure and belonged to the earliest part of the mature phase. Here the style is basically two-figure, and with 1807-1602 present in nearly half of the seals, the relations are with the main part of the mature phase. Apart from this, there are two distinctive features. The importance of the figure 1631, which occurs in a third of the seals, is unprecedented. 1631 is extremely rare in the Good convention.⁷³ For this reason the common two-figure scene 1807-1631 with ordinary engraving⁷⁴ may be assigned to the Poor convention, though, as remarked above, its absence in Poor three-figure scenes indicates that some particular workshop is involved.

The other important feature is the interchangeability of the left and centre figures in the three-figure scenes.⁷⁵ This even extends to having 1602 turn her back on 1807 (BM III 514). This is reminiscent of the Poor convention, but there it was a means of showing two aspects of the same Person. Here different Persons are jumbled up. The rule may be that Persons are distinguished only by orientation, not by location. This is adequate for the two-figure scenes that comprise most of the style, but leads to confusion in the three-figure ones.

All of this suggests that the Linear style is a development from the Poor convention. It displays a character of its own, however, in its extreme fondness for flounced dresses, otherwise equalled only by the high-class Sippar style which has nothing else in common with the Linear seals.⁷⁶

2.7.3 The Drilled style.

The Drilled style began with an increased use of fine drilled decoration, as in BM III 530, but progressed to a schematic style of cutting, as in BM III 428, often executed quite crudely, as in BM III 434. It became the predominant style during the reign of Samsuiluna (Collon 1987, 50-52) and seems to have stayed in use at least until the end of the first dynasty of Babylon (al-Gailani Werr 1980, 84). It is the most important of the minor Old Babylonian styles, but accounts for less than 5% of the database. Its overwhelming preference is for two-figure scenes rather than three-figure ones, and it often shows two such scenes on the same seal.

Seated figures are rare (see above, p. 34), and there is a strong emphasis on the ascending posture, which occurs in a third of the figures, more than twice as often as in the ordinary engraving. Dresses are for the most part (74%) plain and long, and the Open dress, type 4, is particularly rare. Arm positions are eclectic, with types 2, 3, 7, 10, 31 and the animal-bearer having roughly equal shares of between 10% and 14% of the figures. The Smiting attitude, type 5, is just as common, unlike in the rest of Old Babylonian where its frequency is more like 1%. Arm type 11 is especially common in Drilled seals while type 6 is very rare.⁷⁷

There are as many as 22 different figure types in the 48 Drilled seals in the database. This is on account of the variations of dress and posture which seem not to be very significant, though the ascending posture is reserved for figures with arms of types 5, 6, 11, and 31. 11 of the 22 forms occur facing both left and right,

⁷¹ Cf. the situation in the eighteenth century at Mari.

⁷² Cf. Collon 1986a, 199; al-Gailani Werr 1988, 44 n.57.

⁷³ BM III 512 is the only three-figure seal in the database with 1602 on the left and 1631 on the right.

⁷⁴ e.g. BM III 292, 507.

⁷⁵ BM III 511, 514, 521, Louvre A287, BN 122.

⁷⁶ In two-figure Linear scenes half of the figures wear flounced dresses: compare the Poor convention where only one seventh do.

⁷⁷ Collon 1986a, 3; Moore 169, BM III 428.

and none of the other figure types occurs more than twice. This remarkable lack of respect for orientation is maintained even if arm types are considered alone, except for type 5 which nearly always faces right.⁷⁸

The multiplicity of figure types and orientations in a small field means that recurrent scenes are unlikely, and in fact 1807-1602 is the only scene of which there are as many as three examples in the database. But by concentrating on the arm types something of a pattern can be obtained:

Drilled style: Arm types in two-figure scenes

on left	on right							
	2	7	3	bearer	11	31	10	
2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
7	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
3	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	7
bearer	0	0	0	0	3	0	4	7
11	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	6
31	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
10	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	5
5	1	0	0	1	1	1	3	7
	5	3	2	5	14	6	4	42

The pattern can be emphasised by combining some of the figure types:

Arm types in Drilled two-figure scenes

on left	on right					
	2+7	3+bearer	11+31	10	other	
2+7	7	0	1	0	0	8
3+bearer	0	0	12	0	2	14
11+31	0	6	1	1	0	8
10	0	0	4	0	1	5
5	1	1	2	3	0	7
	8	7	20	4	3	42

Arm types 2 and 7 form a closed group, combining with each other though not with themselves. Likewise a Person, corresponding to the worshipping King with arms 3 or bearing an animal, combines with a God with arms 11 or 31 (Plate II R). The distinction between aspects of the King is thus borrowed from the Good convention but differently interpreted in some way. The martial King with arms 7 goes with the Intercessor; the other, worshipping, Kings combine with the God. All this is in accordance with the fundamental Old Babylonian rule that Persons should not be combined with themselves, but the equally fundamental rule of orientation is ignored.

The Smiting figure, on the other hand, does obey a rule of orientation, but is less restricted in his choice of partner. He is presumably a God, as he makes use of the ascending posture; but it is strange to have a God that faces right. His favourite attendant is the figure 1110, who is unlikely to be related to the King in the standard scene 1602-1110-4111 because that belonged to the earliest phase of Old Babylonian and the Drilled style is late. A more likely derivation may be found at Sippar, where the Smiting God may have originated (e.g. al-Gailani Werr 1980, 41; Collon 1986a, 165-6). There is a common figure 1610, flounced as usual at Sippar, which seems to represent a deity, perhaps equivalent in function to the Interceding Goddess (Collon 1986a, 26). This is confirmed by the three-figure scenes which conform to the Good convention but have 1610 rather than 1602 on the left. This may be the precursor of our (unflounced) figure 1110. The Smiting God is often dressed like the martial King and may have an association with him.⁷⁹ Perhaps the scene *Smiting God-1110* is a celestial transformation of the standard scene 1807-1602 and the god is receiving support from an attendant for the divine warfare.⁸⁰

Although there are only six Drilled three-figure scenes in the database, they are much more consistent than the two-figure ones. The figure on the left has arms of types 2 or 10; that in the centre bears an animal or has arms 3; the figure on the right always has arms 11. This is exactly in accordance with the conclusions reached above. The Intercessor is on the left, following the Good convention, and including the variant with arms 10

⁷⁸ Except Philadelphia 435.

⁷⁹ Cf. BM III 420, 423, 424; but I cannot estimate whether this is more than a chance juxtaposition.

⁸⁰ Plate II Q; Yale 1076, Louvre A457, BN 430.

which is rare in the mature phase. The figure in the centre is a worshipping King, and there is a God on the right, yielding a scene of the common form *Intercessor-King-God*.⁸¹

The Drilled style may then be summed up as follows. There are three Persons, Intercessor, King and God. The King has arms 3 or bears an animal if in worshipping aspect, and arms 7 if in martial (supported) aspect. The Intercessor has arms 2 if facing the King and arms 10 if facing the God. The God has arms 11 or 31 in worshipped aspect and 5 in martial aspect. The Intercessor faces a martial figure, whether King or God, in two-figure scenes. In three-figure scenes she is attached to the left of a two-figure scene of type *King-God* and she may then adopt either of her guises. The God may either stand or ascend; other Persons stand. The martial God faces right; otherwise orientation is random, as is dress.

The style has some things in common with the Sippar glyptic, and its onset at Sippar has been documented by al-Gailani Werr (1988, 43-46). Nonetheless it does not share the Sippar predilection for flounced robes, the seated god, and elaborate five-figure scenes. The three-figure scenes conform to the Good convention with the Intercessor on the left, and the respect for the differentiation of Persons is more akin to the Good convention than to the Poor. For all that the Drilled style represents a new departure with its irregularity in matters of dress and especially orientation, which are strictly controlled in the mature phase of Old Babylonian.

There is a remarkable opposition between the Drilled and Linear styles. Both are late, and schematic in execution; both prefer simple two-figure scenes. Drilled is an outgrowth of the Good convention, Linear of the Poor. Drilled does not generally operate a rule of orientation but does have aspects of Persons and a rule of location in three-figure scenes. Linear does have a rule of orientation but does not prescribe locations or aspects. Drilled makes less use of flounced robes than usual, despite its links with Sippar; Linear concentrates on them. It is not too much to say that the Drilled and Linear styles are the successors, respectively, of the Good and Poor conventions; and although both are more degenerate than their predecessors, i.e. are less governed by rules, they both show individual features which were newly invented at their inception when Old Babylonian moved from its mature to its last phase.

2.8 Foreign styles related to Old Babylonian.

2.8.1 Old Syrian.

The Old Syrian style had an independent character from the beginning, and had at first little in common with Old Babylonian.⁸² In early Old Syrian the human figures can be replicated on the same seal without regard to orientation.⁸³ Collon's 'North Syrian' group displays this character particularly clearly but it also applies to other seals which cannot be so exactly defined.⁸⁴ Collon dates the group to the first half of the eighteenth century, but in view of its difference from the Mari glyptic of the middle of the century it should probably be placed in the later nineteenth century as well.⁸⁵ There are some figure types of Babylonian appearance in early Syrian glyptic, but these are not necessarily derived from Old Babylonian: for example the most important of them, the seated god in a flounced robe,⁸⁶ is probably an inheritance from Syro-Cappadocian.⁸⁷

The mature later Old Syrian style, with rolled borders,⁸⁸ makes conspicuous use of a series of interacting Persons, conceptually much as in Old Babylonian. The origins of this usage seem, however, to precede the Mari period, and the cast of Persons is for the most part indigenous to Syria (Collon 1975, 180-184) - indeed the most important Person, the Syrian Goddess, is absent from Mari (Collon 1975, 180).

The best attested Persons in the earlier Syrian glyptic are the seated flounced god,⁸⁹ the Weather God,⁹⁰ the

⁸¹ Louvre A309, Ash 547, VR 501, BN 148, RS 3.039, 20.53.

⁸² For Old Syrian see especially the contributions of Dominique Collon, summarised in Collon 1987, 47-55; for a general survey see Teissier 1984, 72-89. Old Syrian has become understood only recently and older works should be treated with particular caution.

⁸³ e.g. Marcopoli 495, 498, CANES 922, 970, 976, 987, 995; and see Collon 1985, nos. 3, 14, 20, 21 (Ash 888, Özgüç 1968, pl. 29:1, Moore 134, de Clercq 292).

⁸⁴ The 'Linear style' in Teissier 1984, 73; cf. Collon 1987, 52.

⁸⁵ The evidence given by Collon 1985, 58, apart from the Kanesh seal, relies on the judgement of Schaeffer and Mallowan who were not always impeccable in their methods. The Kanesh seal is an actual seal, not an impression. Both seals and impressions are often found in misleading contexts, but seals are much the more unreliable. Early Syrian glyptic should originate after the earlier level at Kanesh, i.e. not before the middle of the nineteenth century (Teissier 1984, 73) and had certainly gone out of use by the late eighteenth century on the evidence of the Alalakh VII impressions. (A useful criterion for early seals is the pot formed of three horizontal lines, which only occurs once in the Alalakh impressions: Collon AOAT 95). The difference between this style and that of Mari could be a geographical distinction, conceivably without significance in time.

⁸⁶ e.g. CANES 910, 912, 948, Marcopoli 456, 463, 470.

⁸⁷ e.g. Marcopoli 416-424, CANES 900-907, CCT VI 17, 19, 25, 27.

⁸⁸ Porada 1957, 195, Buchanan 1957, 75, Collon 1975, 198.

⁸⁹ Seated figures in plain robes are often duplicated and are not Persons in the sense I am using.

⁹⁰ Apparently derived from Anatolia: Teissier 1984, 79.

Nude Goddess, and the Warrior Goddess. These Persons are not usually duplicated,⁹¹ unlike the general run of early Old Syrian figures.⁹² The Weather God usually faces left in combination with the Nude Goddess, and right when facing the Warrior Goddess, so orientation seems to be affected by context rather than being inherent in the Person.⁹³ The indigenous Syrian glyptic of the early eighteenth century thus seems to have had two strands, one which composed its scenes without Persons in the Babylonian sense, typified by the North Syrian group (Collon 1985), and the other which had local Persons which were combined according to rather different rules from those in use in Babylonia.⁹⁴ Exactly the same situation was to obtain later in the Mitannian style, and, as in Mitannian, Old Syrian seals can have designs that juxtapose both principles.⁹⁵

In the middle and late eighteenth century Old Syrian underwent an artistic revolution which resulted in the finest seals of the style. First a splendid glyptic developed at Mari combining Syrian and Babylonian elements. Soon afterwards the magnificently modelled style probably to be associated with the court of Aleppo brought these elements to a perfect expression (Collon 1982b; Collon 1987, 53-55) combined with remarkable originality (Collon 1987, nos. 706-710).

Mari period glyptic is dominated by the scene 1807-1602.⁹⁶ But we can observe a number of designs which conform to the Good convention, such as 1602-1807-5106 (al-Gailani Werr 1980, 70, top), 1602 - *animal-bearer* - 5131 (Collon 1987, no. 179), as well as designs which are more closely Syrian than Babylonian in ancestry.⁹⁷ The three-figure scenes just cited suggest that the Mari cutters recognised the detailed combinations of aspects prescribed by the Good convention, though one would need more evidence to demonstrate this. Further upstream there was a similar glyptic at Carchemish, but there the normal rules of orientation are reversed.⁹⁸

If Mari has a Babylonian style with some Syrian elements, then the situation in the Aleppo group and in Old Syrian in general is the reverse. The only Babylonian figure to become thoroughly assimilated was the Interceding Goddess, 1602 (Collon 1975, 181-2), though the 'King with mace' 1807 had a certain penetration, probably to be dated rather earlier for the most part.⁹⁹ It failed to displace the existing Syrian King of type 1407,¹⁰⁰ or the variant in the royal impressions from Alalakh.¹⁰¹ Much the same is true of the other Babylonian figure types that occur occasionally in Syrian seals, such as 1103,¹⁰² 5106,¹⁰³ 5111 (Marcopoli 468) or 5131 (CANES 930). There is no space here to undergo a proper investigation of these types, but the original Babylonian rules of orientation and location were not preserved and neither was the Babylonian prescription in three-figure scenes for the central figure to face right.

As an example, and because she was the most lasting loan from Babylonia to Syria, the distribution of the Interceding Goddess is worth a brief sketch. She occurs both in the earlier and in the later phase of the Syrian glyptic. In the earlier period she usually combines with the Weather God¹⁰⁴ or else with the various figures in Open robes who may represent the King.¹⁰⁵ There is no respect for orientation where she combines with the Weather God,¹⁰⁶ but where she faces the man in the Open dress she normally faces right while he faces left.¹⁰⁷ It is not clear whether this should be seen as a reversal of the Babylonian scene *King-Intercessor*, or if it

⁹¹ Though note e.g. Aleppo 197.

⁹² Types 1111, 1106, 1806, 1407, 1411, 4111, etc.

⁹³ Cf. e.g. CANES 968, Marcopoli 475, 477, Newell 324, Collon BAR 21, Collon 1987, no. 581.

⁹⁴ See the seals collected by Collon 1982b, fig. 3 d-f, h-j.

⁹⁵ e.g. Collon 1987, 55, s.v. no. 209 = CANES 910.

⁹⁶ Plate II P; Collon 1987, nos. 181-185, al-Gailani Werr 1980, 68-69; cf. the Rimah impressions, al-Gailani Werr 1980, 67, 70.

⁹⁷ Collon 1987, nos. 178, 191, al-Gailani Werr 1980, 69, middle rows.

⁹⁸ Collon 1987, 50; cf. Brussels 501, al-Gailani Werr 1980, no. 30a.

⁹⁹ e.g. CANES 930, 965, Brussels 501, Damascus 27, Aleppo 162, Newell 298, Collon 1987, no. 202.

¹⁰⁰ e.g. CANES 938, Marcopoli 451, 453, Newell 331, Collon 1987, no. 647.

¹⁰¹ Collon AOAT 3-6, 10, 60, 138; also CANES 958, 973, RS 9.889, de Clercq 395, Damascus 36, Aleppo 169, Newell 334, BN 495, Kenna BM 16. It is rare for this form to be duplicated (CANES 957, Moore 153), unlike 1407, which often appears twice, especially in the earlier seals (e.g. CANES 950, 951, 989, Marcopoli 435, 436, 443). A form 1403 may also represent the King (e.g. BN 463, 496, Ash 872, Brussels 1386, Newell 297, 334, Collon 1987, nos. 543-545): it is again more of a Person as it is not normally duplicated (though note Marcopoli 478, Louvre A897).

¹⁰² e.g. CANES 948, 961, Newell 330, Aleppo 162 (probably recut?).

¹⁰³ e.g. CANES 918, 963, Marcopoli 459, 505 (characterised as Ishtar), Aleppo 173.

¹⁰⁴ e.g. Marcopoli 477, 541, CANES 967, Yale 1272, Newell 302, 303.

¹⁰⁵ e.g. CANES 931, Collon 1987, no. 191, bearing an animal; 1403: e.g. Copenhagen 135, Newell 299, 302, Marcopoli 440, Yale 1200, 1272; 1407: e.g. Copenhagen 128, CANES 926, Louvre A923, 924, Marcopoli 440, Safadi 1974, fig. 126; 1411: e.g. Moore 130, Collon 1987, no. 190, CANES 927, 931.

¹⁰⁶ Contrast CANES 967 and Marcopoli 477.

¹⁰⁷ With exceptions such as Louvre A923.

means that the man should be interpreted as a god. Much more detail on the Syrian combinations would be needed to make a reasonable guess on this.

In the later period her classic role is in the royal scene *Intercessor - King - Syrian Goddess* (Collon AOAT 3-5, 10). Collon AOAT 6, where she is on the right, shows that she is an adjunct to a two-figure scene, which is in accordance with the general preference of the later Syrian seals for simpler compositions. This is confirmed by comparing three-figure scenes where she is on the right¹⁰⁸ with those where she is on the left.¹⁰⁹ In each case she faces a two-figure scene so that the central figure faces left in the former and right in the latter.¹¹⁰ Apart from *King - Syrian Goddess* this two-figure scene can be, for example, *Weather God - Syrian Goddess* (Collon 1982b, fig. 5), *Intercessor - King* (Marcopoli 451), or *Nude Goddess - King* (CANES 946), so it looks as though she can be added to any scene, perhaps as a means of enhancing the meaning, whatever it is.

Although two-figure scenes are normal in the later period the Intercessor rarely occurs in them. She does, however, regularly appear facing the King with a standard or tree between them.¹¹¹ An interesting small group shows her in long scenes with Egyptianising figures, again as an adjunct.¹¹²

In conclusion, the Old Syrian style operated according to two principles of composition. The earlier one, which was apparently extinct by the late eighteenth century,¹¹³ and which is typified by the North Syrian group (Collon 1985), comprised a set of rather undistinctive figures which were often duplicated and combined generally in three-figure scenes. They do not seem to be Persons in the Babylonian sense. The later principle, employed most conspicuously by the Aleppo group (Collon 1982b), did involve individual Persons who are normally found in two-figure scenes. The rules of combination are complex and orientation is affected by context. The main figures in both phases are indigenous to Syria, though some of them may have an ultimate origin in Mesopotamia. In both phases there was a widespread penetration of individual Babylonian figure types, but these did not bring their Babylonian contexts with them, except in the transitional glyptic of Mari, and for the most part either failed to persist or became transformed into a local Syrian guise. Only the Interceding Goddess became thoroughly assimilated into Old Syrian in her original Babylonian form; but she did not usually play an active role in the figure combinations, being employed rather as an adjunct to self-contained Syrian scenes. Thus although Old Babylonian impinged upon Old Syrian to an extent almost completely unattested in the opposite direction, Old Syrian remained independent to the end and cannot be regarded as a sub-Babylonian style.

2.8.2 The glyptic of Khana.

The kingdom of Khana was a successor to the state of Mari whose chronological position in the late Old Babylonian period remains controversial. Since in glyptic terms we have no criteria to distinguish between the late eighteenth and early fifteenth centuries this uncertainty is not very important.¹¹⁴ The seal of *Isih-Dagan* (Collon 1987b, 148) is incompletely preserved and shows a man of type 1403. This figure type is characteristic of the Good convention and of Provincial Babylonian.¹¹⁵ It occurs in two main contexts, both of which appear on nineteenth century impressions from the Diyala region. A scene 1602-1403-4611¹¹⁶ may be related to the beginning of Provincial Babylonian, as there the God is also often of the form 4611. As seated gods belong typologically to the early phase of Old Babylonian glyptic, except at Sippar, this group seems an unlikely precursor for the Khana impression.

The scene 1403-5131 on the other hand, though attested at the same time, belongs to the convention of the mature Old Babylonian seals.¹¹⁷ We have here a northern group described by Collon (1986a, 4) which features the figure 1403 in uncanonical scene formats as well.¹¹⁸ This group shows a heavy use of the drill which is also found on the seal of *Isih-Dagan* (Collon 1987b, 148).

The seal of *Ishar-Lim* (Louvre A594, Collon 1987b, 150) has a scene 1407-1102 or 1107-1102; unfortunately the King's dress is badly preserved. The Intercessor in a plain robe belongs to the late, rather than the early, Old Babylonian version as she does not have the clearly marked waist of the earlier examples.

¹⁰⁸ e.g. Collon 1982b, fig. 5, Marcopoli 451.

¹⁰⁹ e.g. CANES 946, Yale 1231.

¹¹⁰ Though in Marcopoli 451 she is also on the left; note Ash 868 which breaks this rule.

¹¹¹ Collon 1987, nos. 217-219 (Ward 863, RS 9.889, BN 435).

¹¹² Marcopoli 522, 523, Collon AOAT 147, 148, CANES 993.

¹¹³ To judge from the Alalakh VII impressions; but its influence on Mitannian was so strong that it may have survived elsewhere.

¹¹⁴ Collon 1987b gives a possible reconstruction of its origin.

¹¹⁵ e.g. Marcopoli 395, Yale 1125, 1130, 1137, CANES 876.

¹¹⁶ Yale 749, Louvre D31, and the Tell Harmal impression al-Gailani Werr 1988, no. 59a.

¹¹⁷ BM III 328, 422, Diyala 912; impressions from Tell ed-Der (al-Gailani Werr 1988, no. 165a) and Harmal (al-Gailani Werr 1980, 42, top); cf. in three-figure, BM III 331, CANES 392, 393.

¹¹⁸ BM III 332, 414.

As Collon remarks, her appearance at Khana at the time of Hammurabi seems somewhat premature, but not impossibly so as she is well attested only fifty years later. In three-figure scenes 1102 is always on the left and conforms to the early standard. She does not combine with arms of type 7. In two-figure scenes - apart from a couple of low quality Diyala cases¹¹⁹ that should be assigned to the earlier series - she is confined to the Drilled style and is always combined with arms 7. As usual in this style this is without regard to orientation.¹²⁰ Although Ishar-Lim's seal does not seem to be in the Drilled style it may be considered to belong to the same general tradition.

The seal of *Hammurabi* of Khana (Collon 1987b, 149: 2d; Yale 1030) is similar to that of Ishar-Lim and is again not in the Drilled style. On the contrary, the cutting in flat planes rather resembles Kassite glyptic (cf. Beran 1957-8, 257), and demonstrates the persistence of a local style at Terqa.

2.8.3 Schematic Elamite.

No good evidence is available for the dating of this very distinctive style, identified by Porada (1946). It must be later than the beginning of the mature phase of Old Babylonian, on which it is dependent, and earlier than the thirteenth century as it is very rare at Choga Zanbil. There is a considerable variation within it from the very elaborate Susa 2027 to the excessively simple Louvre D109. The use of one of the finest examples in the late fifteenth century (Nuzi 614) does not really help to locate it.¹²¹ The style has a number of peculiarities, such as the use of animals as thrones,¹²² the 'Elamite arm position',¹²³ standards, often with stars attached,¹²⁴ and repeated nude females, a theme otherwise very rare.¹²⁵

The figures can be standing, seated or ascending. They have long or flounced robes, except for the nude female. Arms are normally of type 11 or the Elamite attitude; nude females have arms 10 as in Old Babylonian and arms of types 2 and 3 occasionally occur. The animal-bearer appears regularly. Arms of types 2 and 3 always face right; the other figure types, except for 4111 and the nude female, have preferences in orientation, but with several exceptions. The man with the Elamite arm position, who I shall call the 'Elamite man', and the animal-bearer usually face right. Figures of types 1111, 4611 and 5111 usually face left.

There is often more than one scene on the same seal, as in the Drilled style. Scenes are usually two-figure though there are some cases with three or even four (Guimet 93) actors. The extra figures are most commonly either the nude female or the figure 1111.¹²⁶ They can be attached either to the left or to the right of the basic two-figure scene, so that the three-figure scene as a set format does not exist in the Babylonian sense. The secondary nature of these figures is confirmed by two further observations. First, they can be at a smaller scale and on different groundlines from the main scene, as in Louvre D107, though this can also apply to one of the central actors, as in Susa 2026 and 2027. Second, exactly these figures, 1111 and the nude female, are the only ones that face themselves.¹²⁷ This is contrary to the basic Babylonian precept that a scene depicts the interaction of different persons, and shows that these figures are representations of another, local, kind.¹²⁸ They are characteristic of the crudest seals of the style, and are also shown facing each other.¹²⁹ These scenes account for nearly all of the nude females, but not all of the figures of type 1111.

A series of seals have a regular scene *Person-God* where the Person has arms in the Elamite attitude or bears an animal or has arm types 2 or 3. The God is of type 4111, 4611 or 5111.¹³⁰ There seems to be free combination within a rule of orientation. The principles of composition allow no grounds for distinguishing between the various figures comprising the Person on the left; but unless the original Babylonian meanings of arm types 2 and 3 have been completely lost they should not have the same significance.

In another series the Elamite man and 4111 on the left combine freely with the Elamite man, 1111 and

¹¹⁹ Diyala 732, 951.

¹²⁰ BM III 555, Moore 169, Yale 1019, VR 501.

¹²¹ Cf. Collon 1987, 57. Porada suggests (1946) that the examples which are closer to Old Babylonian may be somewhat earlier. Amiet proposes the sixteenth or early fifteenth century, on the basis of an early dating of the Nuzi examples (1972, 258-9). 550 is a late example of an elaborate design.

¹²² Nuzi 613, 614, Ash. supp. 59, Louvre D111, Susa 2024, 2026, Collon AOAT 195?

¹²³ 550, Nuzi 614, BN 447, Ash 909, Louvre D113, Choga Zanbil 109, Susa 2020, 2026, 2028.

¹²⁴ 551, IB.SA 34, Cugnin 56, CANES 1023, Louvre D106, Drouot 1972, no. 616 (probably genuine?).

¹²⁵ Louvre A834, D109, CANES 1023, Susa 2029, Nuzi 614, cf. Choga Zanbil 110.

¹²⁶ Louvre D106, 107, Drouot 1972, no. 616, Susa 2020, 2029, Guimet 93.

¹²⁷ 551, Louvre A833, 834, D106, 109, S541, CANES 1023.

¹²⁸ The nude female is a common figure in Old Babylonian (Collon 1986a, 131-2), though she was ignored in the analysis above because she is always secondary in Kassite glyptic and in Old Babylonian seems to be self-sufficient rather than in relation to the other figures. She is not duplicated in Mesopotamia (Porada 1946, 258; Frankfort 1939, pl.xxix m is a rare exception).

¹²⁹ Plate II S; Louvre D109, 110, IB.SA 34, Cugnin 56, Ash.supp. 59.

¹³⁰ Plate II U; e.g. CANES 1022, Nuzi 613, BN 503; Collon AOAT 195? 196?

4111 on the right (e.g. 550, 551); but figure types do not face themselves.¹³¹ Here, without a rule of orientation, and without the distinctive Babylonian traits of arms 2 and 3, the ascending posture, and the animal-bearer, represents a more specifically Elamite part of the style.

We thus have three types of scene. A 'Babylonian scene' (Plate II U) contains Persons of Babylonian inspiration (as well as the Elamite man) and has rules of orientation and of differentiation of Persons, though the former is not always obeyed.¹³² An 'Elamite scene' (Plate II T) also contains Persons, this time of more generalised form (1111, 4111 and the Elamite man) who do not face themselves but have less respect for orientation. Finally there are the crude scenes with the nude female and 1111 which can face themselves and have no rule of orientation (Plate II S). The 'Babylonian' and crude seals often have two scenes on the same seal, while the 'Elamite' scene prefers to have an inscription or an extra figure. In most cases seals with two scenes have them both of the same kind,¹³³ but they also combine with each other, showing the essential unity of the style.¹³⁴ In a few cases an 'Elamite scene' combines with a crude scene,¹³⁵ but I know of no example of an 'Elamite' and a 'Babylonian' scene on the same seal.¹³⁶ A number of seals in this style are characterised by fantastic elements such as monsters, or an irregular layout on several groundlines. These are all of 'Babylonian' or 'Elamite' type.

The 'Babylonian' series has something in common with the Drilled style in its use of a pair of two-figure scenes on the same seal, the absence of the Open dress, and the diminished respect for orientation. Some of the seals are executed with heavy use of the drill,¹³⁷ though the style is usually exclusively linear. The Drilled style does not favour seated figures, but those that it has are more or less in conformity, facing 1103 or the animal-bearer (see above, p. 34). The Elamite Man shows that the style has an Elamite as well as a Babylonian ancestry and the seated god could derive from early second millennium seals such as Susa 1896 or 1916. Alternatively, it could have been borrowed from Provincial Babylonian or Sippar during the eighteenth century.¹³⁸ Or, as seems to have happened in Babylonia, it could have been revived at the beginning of the Middle Babylonian period. This problem, and the general questions about the interrelations of the various parts, cannot be solved without more evidence and an Elamite chronology for the centuries preceding the foundation of Choga Zanbil.

2.9 The successors of Old Babylonian.

2.9.1 Mitannian (hard stone).

The great flowering of Babylonian styles and influence in the earlier second millennium was not repeated in the later part of the era. We know very little about what happened until the late fifteenth century when the Nuzi impressions shed light on a situation which, although much changed, retains its basic Babylonian features. But in the course of the fourteenth century a new set of styles was invented - Second Kassite, Middle Assyrian, Middle Elamite, Hittite - and these rapidly confined the ancient tradition of Babylonia to a narrow and degenerate field. Mitannian most probably survived in the west well into the thirteenth century, but this was perhaps mostly in the Common and schematic hard stone styles that owed least to Babylonia. First Kassite, restricted to a very limited range of ideas, but vigorous enough within them, gave way to pseudo-Kassite which represents the last, uninspiring, echo of the glyptic of Hammurabi.¹³⁹

But at the time of the Nuzi archive the Mitannian styles were at their height. We have seen that Old Syrian, though affected by Old Babylonian, was not submerged by it. The Syrian tradition continued and is seen still in an undiluted form in the impressions of Alalakh IV (Collon 1975). After this it melded with the Babylonian tradition in various different ways to produce the many Mitannian sub-styles. Much Mitannian glyptic was, as Old Syrian had been, not essentially touched by Babylonia, except (as in the Common style) in the inheritance

¹³¹ This system seems to demand 1111 on the left as well, but the absence of a scene 1111 - *Elamite man* when the opposite arrangement (Plate II T) occurs at least 12 times, makes this improbable (Louvre D114, 115, S525, 526, 528, Porada 1970, figures annexes 19, Choga Zanbil 109, Collon 1987, no. 224, Ash 909, BN 447, Gorelick 30, M. Lambert 1970, fig. 5). Note that the scene *Elamite man* - 4111 is constructed by both systems.

¹³² e.g. Louvre D111, 125.

¹³³ Louvre D107, 111, Susa 2019, CANES 1022, Nuzi 613; Louvre A833, 834, Louvre D109, Cugnin 56, CANES 1023.

¹³⁴ Louvre D110, Ash. supp. 59, Philadelphia 432.

¹³⁵ 551, Louvre D106, IB.SA 34.

¹³⁶ Though there are scenes of 'Elamite' type to which a Babylonian third figure has been added: Nuzi 614, Ash 908.

¹³⁷ Susa 2019, Louvre D108, 129, cf. Ladders 75.

¹³⁸ For Sippar, cf. Collon 1987, 55, where she notes the Elamite arm position there.

¹³⁹ For this conclusion see below, p. 51.

of diverse Babylonian forms. But there was also a Mitannian tradition that preserved aspects of Old Babylonian that did not survive in Babylonia itself.¹⁴⁰

Arms are normally of types 2, 3, 7, 10 or 11, though there are some cases of arms 31 and of the animal-bearer. Type 6 is rare in scenes of Babylonian type (e.g. BM 102456) though it is common in scenes of Syrian derivation,¹⁴¹ and in the local style of Kirkuk (e.g. 604, 622, 625, 626). Dresses are various and figures may stand, sit or ascend. Most scenes are two-figure but three-figure scenes are common. In them the middle figure can face in either direction. These three-figure scenes consist of a two-figure scene with an extra figure added on one side or the other. This can be deduced from the fact that the third figure, that is the one that does not stand face to face with the central figure, normally has arms of types 2 or 11, irrespective of orientation. The two figures facing each other usually have arms of types 3, 7 or 11 if facing right, and 2, 3, 11 or 31 if facing left. If the scene is what in Old Babylonian terms could be described as *King-Intercessor*, then the extra figure normally has arms of type 11, and may be counted as a god, as it sometimes uses the ascending posture.¹⁴² If the scene conforms to *King-God* then the additional figure is usually an Intercessor with arms 2.¹⁴³

On this basis we can assume that these seals inherited the Old Babylonian composition by the combination of different Persons, and that the main part of the scene at least retained a rule of orientation. Neither of these conclusions, however, holds for Mitannian in general. In Common Mitannian almost the entire range of Old Babylonian figure types occur facing themselves.¹⁴⁴ This is not usually the case in the hard stone styles, but there are some seals where the normal rule of orientation does not apply.¹⁴⁵

For the most part arms 7 and arms 3 were mutually exclusive in Old Babylonian, and it was presumed that they represented different aspects of the King. The Poor convention showed them together, but facing in the same direction as if to indicate that the King could enter into the relation in question in either guise.¹⁴⁶ However there are also some Old Babylonian seals where the two types face each other directly,¹⁴⁷ and where one of them faces left one is likely to find the other in the same scene. This was dismissed above (p. 39) as an uncanonical convention characteristic of some unorthodox workshop, but it was influential enough to survive in Mitannian, though only (so far as I know) in three-figure scenes.¹⁴⁸ Unlike in Old Babylonian, these all have arms 7 on the left and arms 3 on the right.

That the regular Mitannian style recognised the existence of individual Persons is clearly indicated by the combinations of forms in the two-figure scenes. When the figure on the right is an Intercessor she is almost invariably faced by a King with arms 7, normally in the form 1407-1602¹⁴⁹ though sometimes with variations in dress.¹⁵⁰ This King can also face 5111¹⁵¹ but the *King-God* scene is more normally expressed by other forms.¹⁵² There is not enough evidence to suggest whether this distinction should be considered one of aspects, as in the Old Babylonian Good convention, or whether a free combination of the forms of each Person is distorted by the excessive predilection of the martial King for the Intercessor, as was proposed for the Poor convention.

As Mitannian is a series of styles rather than a monolithic entity it is impossible to account easily for its origin. The repertory of human forms owes more to Babylonian than to Syrian prototypes, though the latter were an important influence, and more of Old Babylonian was preserved in Mitannian than in the contemporary Kassite glyptic of Babylonia.¹⁵³ The coarse mechanical cutting owes much more to the Drilled style than to the Linear,¹⁵⁴ but Mitannian is not quite as careless about orientation as Drilled. Three-figure scenes are constructed in the same way as in Schematic Elamite and there is a similar laxity, though not absence, of respect for

¹⁴⁰ The comments given here are only roughly indicative because they do not draw upon Dr Stein's corpus of Nuzi impressions.

¹⁴¹ e.g. 585, 601, Collon AOAT 212, Nuzi 736, 741, 743.

¹⁴² e.g. 617, Nuzi 604, Gulbenkian 57, HSS XIV 297. Note the 'ascending King' 5107 in Nuzi 629.

¹⁴³ e.g. Nuzi 609, 629, 642, 14 Glyptik 53, Collon AOAT 197.

¹⁴⁴ e.g. the nude female: Nuzi 181, 264, 291; 1107: Nuzi 173, 182; 1103: Nuzi 124, 145, 149; 1602: 611, Nuzi 434; 1102: Nuzi 199A, 350, 351, Iraq 11-123.

¹⁴⁵ Nuzi 610 and 894 show a standing figure with arms 11 facing a seated man 4111. The opposite scene occurs in 583 and Iraq 37-31. Other cases of inversion of the general rule occur in Thebes 7, BM 102456, Nuzi 610, 710, Jitta 1952, no. 138, CANES 1027, Emar 8, Marcopoli 585.

¹⁴⁶ e.g. BM III 307, 392, 439, Aleppo 85, Louvre D122, A400, Brett 55, VR 343, 375, 447, BN 192, Newell 203.

¹⁴⁷ e.g. BM III 204, 247, 282, 409, Diyala 729, Nuzi 994.

¹⁴⁸ 600, 616, Nuzi 648.

¹⁴⁹ 462, 619, Nuzi 623, 649, 652, 741, HSS XIV 273, Collon AOAT 189, Cherkasky 62, BN 446.

¹⁵⁰ Nuzi 626, 628, Oppenländer 76, Collon AOAT 206, Gorelick 32, RS 23.001.

¹⁵¹ Nuzi 634, 636, 637, Weber 469.

¹⁵² e.g. Nuzi 613, 623, 640, 645, Oppenländer 76, Weber 473, CANES 1021.

¹⁵³ e.g. the figure 1807, as in Nuzi 605; arms of type 6 (Thebes 7, Collon AOAT 201, BM 102456) and 31 (e.g. Nuzi 605, 610, 629A, CANES 1020, Thebes 21, Kenna BM 39), and the animal-bearer (Nuzi 613, 629A, 645, 710, Thebes 7, Collon AOAT 197). None of these occurs in Kassite.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. the transitional seals, CANES 1011-1019.

orientation; but as there are no similarities in the ways that the forms of the figures were developed¹⁵⁵ it is better to see this as the same degeneration occurring independently at the same time in different regions.¹⁵⁶

As for the figure types, the Intercessor in a plain robe, 1102, and the ascending figures 5111 and 5131 could have come easily from the Drilled style. The seated figure 4111¹⁵⁷ is not so easily explained, as it does not usually conform to the rare late Old Babylonian pieces (see above, p. 34). Instead it tends to face a figure with arms 11, irrespective of orientation,¹⁵⁸ in a usage more reminiscent of the native Elamite scene (cf. above, p. 46-7) or perhaps early Old Syrian seals such as CANES 911, Marcopoli 457, 509.¹⁵⁹ The common figure 1411 may be either a derivative of Old Syrian or perhaps a Mitannian adaptation of the Old Babylonian 1111 which substitutes the Open dress. The same applies to 1407 and, to some extent, to 1403.¹⁶⁰ A figure with arms of type 10, normally combined with 5111¹⁶¹ may be an inheritance from the Drilled style (see above, p. 42), but it no longer seems likely to represent an Intercessor.¹⁶²

To sum up, hard stone Mitannian is a series of styles which operated a variety of conventions. The best and most characteristic Babylonianising convention (Nuzi Groups XVI and XVII) has a rule of orientation in two-figure scenes and adds an extra figure, God or Intercessor, on either side to make a three-figure scene. The main scene is usually of form *King-Intercessor* or *King-God*. The main ancestor in style, content and syntax is the Drilled style, but there is also a Syrian component, expressed in Syrian figure types and perhaps also in the heavy emphasis on the Open dress. Some traits may derive from minor Old Babylonian workshops, such as the scene with two Kings facing each other. The workshop (Collon 1986a, 4) which was mentioned above (p. 45) in connection with the seal of Isih-Dagan of Khana may also have exerted an influence. Other features, such as the seated man, may involve a revival of a form that was in decline. Mitannian doubtless crystallised into a recognisable style only slowly, but it seems probable that the earliest developments occurred in northern Mesopotamia at the same time that the Drilled style was in use in Babylonia. This would explain the aspects which are closer to mature Old Babylonian and early Old Syrian than to Drilled Old Babylonian and late (rolled borders) Old Syrian. In this context it is interesting to note the Alalakh VII impressions Collon AOAT 133 and 135 in a heavily drilled style. One shows the Open dress and the other a seated god. These traits do occur in Drilled Old Babylonian, but they are rare there and are more characteristic of Mitannian.

2.9.2 First Kassite.

In this section the conclusions of the Kassite analysis¹⁶³ are taken for granted, and the enquiry is directed at the derivation of the Northern and Central groups defined there. Most Kassite seals have figures facing in only one direction, which is not helpful in assessing the syntactical principles involved. Some late Old Babylonian designs, mostly of Linear style (cf. Collon 1986a, 199), show a single figure facing an inscription, often with another figure facing the inscription from the other side as well. This figure is normally the Interceding goddess, 1602 (BM III 565-579, etc), but we may observe also 1611,¹⁶⁴ 1103¹⁶⁵ and 1102.¹⁶⁶ Of these only 1102 is restricted in orientation, always facing right.¹⁶⁷ This set of figures¹⁶⁸ has something in common with the Central Kassite repertory of 1103 and 1111, but differs in emphasis. There are single Intercessors in Kassite,

¹⁵⁵ e.g. arms 7 and the Open dress, type 4, are strongly favoured in Mitannian and are missing in Schematic Elamite, while there are no specifically Elamite features in standard Mitannian.

¹⁵⁶ That cultural contact between Elam and Mitanni was minimal is shown by the very small number of Elamite impressions at Nuzi compared to the many Kassite ones, though Common Mitannian seals occur in Elam as everywhere else (Susa 2046-2052, Choga Zanbil 111). The pseudo-Kassite seals from Assyria, 239, 245, 247, could, as is argued in the section on that style (p. 66f) have come from Babylonia.

¹⁵⁷ Occasionally flounced, e.g. Collon AOAT 196.

¹⁵⁸ 583, Nuzi 894, Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: Chypre A8, Iraq 37-31.

¹⁵⁹ Though this is a rare combination there.

¹⁶⁰ 1407 and 1403 occur occasionally in Old Babylonian, but not in the late styles, e.g. BN 136, 234, 236, 240, BM III 422, Copenhagen 54; BM III 558, Copenhagen 65, Diyala 729. For 1403 see also the section on Khana, p. 45.

¹⁶¹ Nuzi 640, Weber 473, CANES 1021.

¹⁶² e.g. Nuzi 626 has it facing an Intercessor. In Thebes 7 its high knobbed hat and position facing a figure in worshipping posture might suggest that it represents a god; but the same hat is worn by an animal-bearer offering to a god without such headgear in the other scene on this seal.

¹⁶³ See below, pp. 55-87; see pp. 86-7 for lists of examples of the scenes.

¹⁶⁴ BM III 580, 592, 611, 614, VR 491, Newell 267, Louvre A467-8.

¹⁶⁵ BM III 589, 612, 619, Louvre A469.

¹⁶⁶ BM III 626-629, VR 493-5, al-Gailani Werr 1980, 80, 84, Brett 73, Louvre S540, Ash 551, Walters 26, CANES 568.

¹⁶⁷ Except for VR 494. If this seal were not dated to Abieshuh I would suspect it to be Kassite on the basis of the linear engraving and especially the two short lines at the waist - cf. 14, 49, 90, BM 102420. Perhaps the figure was cut or recut later than the inscription? 1102 is also the only figure type that does not usually face another figure across the inscription.

¹⁶⁸ There are also occasional examples of: 1807 (BM III 588, 592); 1111 (BM III 591, 630, 631); 1811 (BM III 586); 1805 (BM III 591, 624); 1631 (Newell 267); 5111 (BM III 589); 5811 (BM III 587); and 5606 (BM III 625).

though they are rare,¹⁶⁹ and the standing man with arms 11 normally has a plain robe and only occasionally a flounced one,¹⁷⁰ the reverse of the Old Babylonian situation. Kassite single figures, except for 1111 and 1102, are constant in orientation and do not occur in pairs flanking the inscription. There is not much connection between the Northern Kassite single figure 1107 and these Old Babylonian seals, as arm type 7 is rare there.

Kassite two-figure scenes take the forms *King-God*, *King-Intercessor*, *Man-God*, and *Intercessor-God*, the latter two occurring only in the Central group. In Northern Kassite the *King-God* scene is expressed by 1107, 1407 or 1607 facing 1111, while in Central the King has arms 3 and the God may be seated. Neither of these forms relates to the Linear 1807-1631, especially as the arm type 31 is completely lost in Kassite. Nor do they correspond to the Drilled style, where arms 7 only faces the Intercessor and the God is not usually seated. In fact the best progenitor seems to be the mature phase of the Good convention. There two kinds of *King-God* scene were represented, one typified by 1602-1807-5106 and the other by 1602-1103-5131. The former God, 5106 ('Ishtar'), was sometimes replaced by 1111 (see above, p. 33). Seated Gods were rare in the mature Good convention, but occurred at Sippar in the form 4611 in the same contexts as 5131 ('Shamash'). A few Drilled seals seem to represent a continuation of this tradition (see above, p. 34). The *King-God* scene may thus be borrowed by Kassite from the Good convention, Northern taking the martial relation, and Central the worshipping relation. Both are descended from variants of the normal form, and both introduce characteristic Kassite alterations. The distinctive dress of the 'King with mace' 1807 did not survive as both Kassite and Mitannian replaced it with plain or Open dresses. The seated God adopts usually a plain robe in Central Kassite, as in Mitannian and Schematic Elamite, and the King there may be placed in a kneeling posture, an attitude not used for principal figures in Old Babylonian.¹⁷¹ Central has two forms of the *King-God* scene, either a kneeling King with a standing God, or a standing King with a seated God. The combination of arm types is the same in both cases and there seems to be no reason to propose a difference in meaning. The distinction may rather be stylistic.¹⁷² While a difference in posture is common between King and God in Old Babylonian, this seems to be a consequence of the greater variety in posture allowed to Gods (standing, seated or ascending) rather than of a constant desire to express a difference, as in Central Kassite. It is perfectly normal in Old Babylonian for both King and God to be standing (except in the first phase).

The *King-Intercessor* scene in Northern Kassite is 1103-1102 or 1107-1102, while in Central it is 1407-1102 or 1407-1602. In Old Babylonian this scene is dominated by the form 1807-1602 which does not occur in Kassite. In Central the difference between this King and the forms that face the God indicates that the distinction between martial and devotional aspects of the King was recognised, though as in the Drilled style there is no martial form of the scene *King-God*. The form 1103-1102 is especially puzzling as this combination of arm types only occurs twice in the whole Old Babylonian database, neither of them with these dresses.¹⁷³ Why Northern should vary the forms of the King, while Central has different forms of Intercessor, is not clear, but both practices are more reminiscent of Mitannian than of Old Babylonian. It appears that in Northern Kassite the King's aspect does not have clear syntactical implications of the kind found in Central Kassite. The Intercessor of form 1102, used in both Kassite traditions, is more informative. The figure is characteristic of the Drilled style but also occurs in the impressions from Khana, though it is not clear there whether its partner is 1407 or 1107.

The scene *Intercessor-God* occurs occasionally in Old Babylonian seals with ordinary engraving.¹⁷⁴ The Diyala cases and VR 272 belong to the early phase of Old Babylonian, and they are the only cases which involve seated figures. The scene is not typical of Mitannian.¹⁷⁵ It is therefore probably an original invention of the Central Kassite style, perhaps in parallel with the Schematic Elamite cases.¹⁷⁶

It is suggested below (p. 84) that the Central Kassite combination 1111-4111 represents a scene *Man-God*, that is, that the figure 1111 here is a human Person other than the King. This is reminiscent of the Poor convention, but there 1111 was an adjunct on the left of a three-figure scene and rarely occurred in two-figure scenes. If Central Kassite borrowed this scene from forms in the Poor convention such as 1111-1611¹⁷⁷ or

¹⁶⁹ 114, Geneva 53, cf. 111, 113, Nuzi 680.

¹⁷⁰ 144, 56, 57, the latter two possibly Old Babylonian.

¹⁷¹ Other than in contest scenes, BM III 128-133, etc.

¹⁷² Cf. the variant on the scene 1103-4111 that has Elamite affinities, below p. 75.

¹⁷³ Al-Gailani Werr 1980, 53, third row on right; Guimet 87. Cf. in Mitannian, HSS XIV 297 and Nuzi 666.

¹⁷⁴ BM III 594, 595, Susa 1756, VR 272, 364, Diyala 732, 951, Brussels 574.

¹⁷⁵ Though cf. 116, Collon AOAT 196.

¹⁷⁶ Louvre D111, BN 503.

¹⁷⁷ BM III 305, VR 500.

1811-1111¹⁷⁸ then it subjected it to a thorough transformation. It may be better to see it as a loan from outside the Babylonian convention (see the next section).

Three-figure scenes are rare in Kassite. Like Old Babylonian, and unlike Mitannian, the central figure normally faces right.¹⁷⁹ The central figure has arms of forms 3 or 7 and thus conforms to the Old Babylonian iconography of the King. The figure on the left is either a King as well, sometimes of the same form,¹⁸⁰ sometimes of another;¹⁸¹ or an Intercessor.¹⁸² The figure on the right is either a God, standing¹⁸³ or sitting (25, 33); or an Intercessor (1, 93, 110). All four combinations of (*King or Intercessor*) - *King* - (*God or Intercessor*) occur (see below, p. 78). Those with a King on the left, which can be assigned to the Northern tradition or are transitional to pseudo-Kassite,¹⁸⁴ may be descended from the Poor convention, though unlike there the duplicated Kings can be identical. 1 is evidently the Central Kassite version of the important Good convention scene 1602-1807-1602, but 115 has no obvious predecessor, and with its plain dresses (1102-1107-1111) should belong to the Northern tradition.

To conclude, First Kassite had rules of orientation and scene formation as strict as those in standard Old Babylonian, though not quite the same. It has the same set of Persons, possibly including the Man of the Poor convention, and observes the rule that Persons can only face others of a different kind, though not the rule that two Persons of the same aspect cannot occur on the same seal. In Central Kassite the aspects of the King and the God vary according to the scene type, but the situation in Northern is unclear. The repertory of forms is entirely within the Old Babylonian conventions although one type, the King 1607, does not actually occur there. Unlike Mitannian, which inherited the Old Babylonian canon and added to it, Kassite is a reduction from the Babylonian repertory, except in the symbols of the Central tradition. It is a simplification in the range of forms, in the general absence of specific divine attributes, in the engraving style, and in the complexity of the scenes.

2.9.3 Pseudo-Kassite.

If Kassite is an abstraction from Old Babylonian, pseudo-Kassite (see below, pp. 66-70) represents still further reduction from Kassite. Its regular repertory consists of single figures, sometimes duplicated, of types 1107, 1607 and 1111, a scene 1107-1111 and a scene 1111-4111. The single figure 1111 and the latter two-figure scene seem to conform to the Central Kassite group, while the other scenes follow the Northern Kassite tradition. The strong emphasis on the martial King is remarkable. A worshipping King only occurs in 233, 241 (both in combination with a martial form), 231, and perhaps in 242 and Susa 2073. The single figure 1111 can be derived from the Northern tradition as it was used there in the two-figure scenes. The scene 1111-4111, on the other hand, has nothing to do with Northern, and seems likely to be connected with the Central Kassite scene of 30, 31, 32 and Turin 70028. It is also certainly one of the many ramifications of the Fan Scene (see below, pp. 110-113). It seems probable that this originated somewhere in eastern Mesopotamia between Assyria and Elam in the late fourteenth century after the end of the Nuzi archive. If pseudo-Kassite is derived from Northern Kassite then it may have partly co-existed with Central Kassite in about 1300 BC and they may both have borrowed the scene from elsewhere.¹⁸⁵

2.10 Retrospect: the Old Babylonian standard.

The origin of the Old Babylonian standard may be assigned more or less arbitrarily at the appearance of the Interceding Goddess. This figure was used in some of the highest quality Ur III seals instead of the leading goddess.¹⁸⁶

Although several Old Babylonian figure types such as 1103 and 1807 had been invented in the late third millennium, the presentation to a deified king 1602-1110-4111 (Plate II A) seems to have been the subject of almost the entire production of the twentieth century. The engraving was normally excellent here and in the other three-figure scenes with the Interceding Goddess on the left, and this *Good convention* represents the mainstream of the Babylonian tradition. It so happens that the best available evidence for the first two centuries

¹⁷⁸ BM III 309, 310, Yale 721, Brett 66.

¹⁷⁹ Not 117. This seal is excluded from most of the generalisations below.

¹⁸⁰ 93; cf. 25, 234, 235.

¹⁸¹ 100, 108, 110; cf. 233.

¹⁸² 1, 115. 33 and 120 have 1111 on the left.

¹⁸³ 100, 108, 115; cf. 233, 234, 235.

¹⁸⁴ 25 must be Central, but arguably there the middle figure is a filling symbol.

¹⁸⁵ The derivation of the scene from an Old Babylonian source is unconvincing since 1111 should come from the Poor convention and 4111 from the Good. That there were seals which combined Central Kassite elements with north-eastern elements is shown by 225 and 226: the same treatment is given to Northern Kassite in 227 and 228.

¹⁸⁶ Collon 1986a, 59; for the earliest cases see Collon 1975, 181, Spycket 1960, 80-83.

of the second millennium in Babylonia, both in impressions (al-Gailani Werr 1988) and in actual seals (Frankfort 1955), comes from the Diyala region; and we can observe there a characteristic transformation of the standard scene in which the Intercessor wears a plain robe (Plate II I).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Old Babylonian underwent the changes which resulted in the mature phase of the style. In the Good convention, the deified king and the figure 1110 went out of use, to be replaced by the scenes *1602-1807-5106* and *1602-1103-5131* (Plate II B, C; with several variant forms). These scenes may represent two different relations between the King and the God, martial and devotional. Meanwhile two adaptations of the Good convention originated. The *Sippar* style elaborated on decorative flounced garments and complex scenes. It reached its height in the eighteenth century, but characteristic traits such as the Smiting God and the seated god 4611 are visible from the beginning (al-Gailani Werr 1980, 41). The basic Sippar scene was an adaptation of the devotional scene, *1602 - animal-bearer - 4611* (Plate II D).

The *Provincial Babylonian* style developed from aspects of the Good convention and of the Old Assyrian seals. Provincial compositions centre on a refinement of the devotional scene, distinguishing between the worshipping aspect *1602-1103-5111* and the sacrificial *1602 - animal-bearer - 5131* (Plate II G, H). This style seems to have had no successors, unless it influenced the use of 1602 and 4611 in early Old Syrian.

At the same time¹⁸⁷ a new *Poor convention* originated in mediocre workshops in the Diyala region. Instead of simplifying the Intercessor it now dispensed with her entirely. The two aspects of the King were made to complement each other by showing both on the same seal in the scene *King-King-Deified King* (Plate II J). Aspects of Persons here thus have a formal but not a syntactical expression. This scene soon changed in the same way as the Good convention in the replacement of 1110 by 1807 and of the (seated) deified king by the (standing or ascending) God.

In the mid nineteenth century the Good and Poor conventions were profoundly affected by the martial scene *1807-1602* (Plate II F), either on its own or as part of a three-figure scene such as *1602-1807-1602* or *1103-1807-1602* (Plate II E, M). This ushered in the mature phase of the Old Babylonian period, which lasted for little more than a century. The two-figure scene, which had previously been an inferior variant, now became important, and was as dominated by *1807-1602* as the three-figure scene had been by *1602-1110-4111* a century before.

In the Poor convention, a fourth, rather undistinctive Person, the Man, was invented. Like the Intercessor in the Good convention, the Man is attached to the left of a two-figure scene. By now some very low-class seals were being made, presumably in response to an increased demand owing to a rise in economic activity or a change in legal practices, and some of the cheapest Poor seals show a characteristic combination of the figures 1811 and 1131 (Plate II L). There were also some very crude seals that do not conform to the Babylonian standard in the requirement that there should not be identical figures on the same seal next to each other.

These developments represent the main course of events, but there were also innumerable minor workshops with their own adaptations of the Babylonian standard, such as the one that shows two Kings facing each other, the style that depicts Amurru and the nude female, and the groups described by Collon 1986a, 3-4. Some minor workshops became the ancestors of major styles; others did not do so, but may have persisted to have effects on later styles such as Mitannian. When we know as much about the rest of Mesopotamia as we now know about Sippar and the Diyala we may expect to be able to trace the history of Babylonian glyptic much more accurately (cf. Frankfort 1939, 151).

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Good convention merged with certain Syrian elements to form the characteristic style that is attested at Mari, Rimah, Chagar Bazar and Leilan.¹⁸⁸ Here the scene *1807-1602* is at its most obtrusive (Plate II P). At Carchemish and Aleppo, however, the Old Syrian style retained its independence, and only absorbed individual figures such as the Intercessor from Babylonia, not structural relations.

In the late eighteenth century the mature phase of the Babylonian standard came to an end with an impoverishment of forms, coarser engraving styles, and less adhesion to rules. The evidence for this late Old Babylonian period is, like that for the early period, defective.¹⁸⁹ Though two late styles can be readily recognised, it is probable that others existed as well, such as the workshop at Terqa in the state of Khana.

The Good convention, or rather probably the Sippar style, developed into the *Drilled style* (Plate II Q, R). This normally had two-figure scenes with a scene *King-God* or *King-Intercessor*, but unlike every other Old Babylonian style it did not have a rule of orientation. Gods were frequently in the ascending posture and a difference in the aspect of the King was recognised between the two scene types, though unlike the earlier styles there were no distinctions in aspect within the *King-God* scene. *1807-1602* was still the most common scene, as the other figures were subject to many small variations, but it was no longer dominant.

¹⁸⁷ Sumuabum, al-Gailani Werr 1980, 39 (Philadelphia 326).

¹⁸⁸ Examples from Alalakh and Sippar are from outside its homeland. See Collon 1987, nos. 176-191.

¹⁸⁹ Al-Gailani Werr 1980 devotes 38 pages to the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, and only 10 to the twentieth and seventeenth.

The *Linear style* also had cursory engraving and favoured two-figure scenes, though scenes with single figures were more common still. Its characteristic scenes were 1807-1602 and 1807-1631 (Plate II N, O). It had a rule of orientation but no rule of location, the reverse of the situation in the Drilled style. The lack of a rule of orientation and the prominence of the figure 1631 indicate that it was a development of the Poor convention, but unlike the other styles it did not recognise aspects of Persons.

The developments of the sixteenth and much of the fifteenth centuries remain unknown, but there were probably at least four parallel traditions which adapted the Babylonian inheritance. The *Common Mitannian* style seems to have had an early origin (Collon 1982a, 8). Several of its cast of standard figures (e.g. 1102, 1110, 4111, 5111) may have been derived from Babylonia, but as in Old Syrian, from which it was more directly descended, the resemblance is only in form.

Some of the more elaborate Common Mitannian seals¹⁹⁰ were more closely related to Babylonian conventions but here the immediate influence was probably *Babylonianising hard stone Mitannian*. This style had a basic two-figure scene with a rule of orientation and the familiar forms *King-Intercessor* and *King-God*. Three-figure scenes were constructed by adding an extra figure on one side or the other, a method also found in Schematic Elamite and Old Syrian but not usually in Old Babylonian. I am at present unable to say whether aspects of Persons were recognised. In most respects the main forms and manner of engraving were inherited from the Drilled style, but the figure 1411 and a general preference for the Open dress are more in the Old Syrian tradition. The links with Old Syrian tend (except in the most obviously Syrianising seals) to be with the earlier phase of that style, and there are also links with minor Babylonian workshops such as the one which produced the scene *King-King* which belong to the same (nineteenth-eighteenth century) period. The astonishing complexity and variety of Mitannian glyptic make further generalisation difficult. When the *Middle Assyrian* style developed out of the best Kirkuk Mitannian it marked its independence by the abandonment of the Babylonian forms which are still found in the transitional pieces.¹⁹¹ The latest hard stone Mitannian seems to be likewise that which is least in the Babylonian tradition, as such seals¹⁹² are particularly rare in the dated fourteenth century impressions.¹⁹³

Meanwhile an analogous, though much less productive style prevailed in *Elam* (Plate II S, T, U). Here a native Elamite element paralleled the Syrian component in Mitannian, and as in Mitannian many of the seals had no structural affinity to the Babylonian standard. Like Central Kassite it combined figures with arms 2 and 3 with a seated figure. The second of these scenes, and the combination of the animal-bearer and a seated or ascending figure, may have been derived from the Drilled style. These scenes respected a rule of orientation, but other combinations in the style did not, and at present there are not adequate criteria to decide whether these differences were stylistic or carried some meaning. Schematic Elamite does, however, illustrate the international nature of the adaptations which are better attested in Kassite and Mitannian.

Unlike Mitannian, *Kassite* was an impoverishment of the Babylonian repertory, and unlike Elamite there was no scope for a compensating native element. The *Central* tradition descended from the Good convention but may have originated in some parallel workshop rather than directly in succession from the Drilled style, as its manner of engraving is quite different and it used forms which were less favoured in Drilled, such as the seated rather than the ascending posture for the God. More fundamentally, Kassite had a rigid rule of orientation which was missing in Drilled. Like the Drilled style it recognised aspects of Persons between but not within scene types. The *Northern* tradition duplicated the King on the same seal in a manner reminiscent of the Poor convention, but it did not recognise aspects of Persons in the normal way and had no specific relationship with the Poor convention or the Linear style. It may rather have represented another transformation of the Good convention which was shaped primarily in opposition to the Central tradition but with some similarities to contemporary developments in Mitannian. The *pseudo-Kassite* style is a simplified successor of the Northern tradition which was affected by eastern influences. These influences may have impinged in Central Kassite also in the scene 1111-4111. Pseudo-Kassite had Persons and a rule of orientation but no distinctions of aspect and was syntactically impoverished. This should imply an impoverishment of the meaning it conveyed also.

Leaving aside the intricacies of the styles and sub-styles the progress of the Babylonian tradition may be charted by the changes in the basic principles governing the format of the standard scene, the recognition of aspects of Persons, and the particular aspect of the King that was most favoured.¹⁹⁴ At the beginning the standard scene was three-figure, and this is true of all the early styles, the Good and Poor conventions, Provincial Babylonian, and the Sippar style. But the rise of the scene 1807-1602 and the wider dissemination of

¹⁹⁰ e.g. 612, 613, Iraq 11-86, Iraq 37-32, RS 11.182, 20.49, Nuzi 414, 522.

¹⁹¹ e.g. arms of types 2, 3 and 7 in 456, 459, 463, 605, 606, Yale 1280, Weber 111.

¹⁹² CANES 1050-1067, Marcopoli 599-642, etc.

¹⁹³ 14 Glyptik 68, 102.

¹⁹⁴ The very existence of Persons, on the other hand, is common to the tradition as a whole and should be part of any definition of it.

cruder seals presenting simplified versions of the standard forms brought about the domination of the two-figure scene in the eighteenth century, continuing in the Drilled style and in Mitannian. In the same way the one-figure scene first became prominent in the coarsest of the late Old Babylonian styles, the Linear style, and went on to become the main format in Kassite.

In the nineteenth century the Good convention and Provincial Babylonian recognised different aspects of the *Intercessor-King-God* scene, the former devotional and martial, the latter worshipping and sacrificial. The Poor convention displayed both devotional and martial aspects on the same seal, and it was generally agreed that the *King-Intercessor* scene was martial in aspect. Later on it was this convention, that aspects differed from one scene to another, rather than within the same scene type, that prevailed in the Drilled style and in Central Kassite. But the Linear style made no use of differences in aspect as a syntactic principle, and this seems to be the case also in Northern and pseudo-Kassite.

The Good convention, the Sippar style and Provincial Babylonian all made much more use of the King in devotional than in martial aspect, and this tradition continued in the Drilled style and in Central Kassite. But the martial King was equally important in the Poor convention and perhaps more so in the minor Old Babylonian workshops. Mitannian laid equal stress on the two aspects, but the Linear style, Northern Kassite and pseudo-Kassite are all almost exclusively interested in the martial form.

As a general rule, therefore, we may say that the Babylonian convention developed from an elaborate scene with a devotional meaning and a subtle interplay of aspects to a simple martial scene with no syntactic intricacies. The two somewhat peripheral variants, Provincial Babylonian and pseudo-Kassite, represent the extremes in either direction; but in between the Babylonian standard allowed almost unlimited transformations and reinterpretations. Like the scholastic philosophy, it was narrow in scope and constrained in imagination; but we can only admire its persistence and adaptability over such a long period of time and in so many situations. But by the fourteenth century its flexibility was at last failing, and the time had come for a renaissance in the glyptic art of Mesopotamia.

3. The seals of Babylonia.

3.1 Introduction.

Babylonia displays in the later second millennium BC the curious combination of great cultural and political stability with a variety in glyptic style that is unsurpassed elsewhere, unless on Cyprus. It is true that an equivalent progression, from Mitannian to early Assyrian to mature Assyrian (corresponding very roughly to First, Second and Third Kassite), prevailed in northern Mesopotamia, but there it is easily accounted for by the replacement of Mitanni as the great power of the region by Assyria. For this reason it is tempting to explain the Babylonian development as a reflection of the Assyrian one, and this may indeed be true for Third Kassite, which has more in common with the mature Assyrian style than with its Babylonian antecedents. In the case of Second Kassite, however, this explanation must be somewhat doubtful, as in its earliest certain case, **130**, it is already mature, and this seal predates the time when an Assyrian influence would seem most likely. **130** belonged to an official of Burnaburiash II, who considered Assur to be his vassal;¹ only in the following generation with the intervention of Assuruballit² did Babylon appear inferior to Assur. Moreover the Assyrian style was itself in a formative stage in the time of Burnaburiash, giving rise to the fascinating - but presently unanswerable - question of whether this fourteenth century revolution originated in the north or the south.

There are four major Babylonian styles in the later second millennium BC: First, Second, Third and pseudo-Kassite.³ Although the styles are fairly clearly distinguished from each other, very little can be said about their distribution either in time or in space. All are relatively rare. The most common is First Kassite, of which about 200 examples have survived.⁴ Second and Third Kassite are rare styles, with about 70 and 60 cases respectively, while some 90 seals should be considered in relation to pseudo-Kassite.⁵ These figures include some overlapping, so the total number of Babylonian seals of this period is in the region of 400 examples, about the same as the total number of Assyrian designs.⁶

This chapter contains general outlines of the characteristics and chronology of the four styles, followed by a more detailed analysis of the First Kassite style.

3.2 First Kassite: Introduction and Chronology.

No style is more easily defined than the First Kassite. Naturally there are some doubtful pieces, but almost all conform to a very limited range of elements. The most important requirement is the presence of an inscription in ruled vertical columns rising the whole height of the field.⁷ One of the main differences between First Kassite and pseudo-Kassite is that the latter often has a frieze running over the inscription. Another difference is that First Kassite is nearly always in hard stone, while pseudo-Kassite is normally in a soft material.⁸

The design often occupies less than half of the surface and has to fit as best it can to the space left over by the inscription. This can be a tall narrow rectangle, which resulted in tall narrow figures. Sometimes thin strips above and below were ruled off and treated separately, but it is rare for there to be more than one main scene.⁹ An individual scene always consists of between no and three human figures, usually with a number of symbols.¹⁰ When there are no human figures the field is either left blank or filled with symbols of the same

¹ The sentiment was not reciprocated by the Assyrians (Gadd 1975, 24-5).

² Gadd 1975, 28-30; n.b. Brinkman 1976, 152.

³ I take the first three terms from Beran 1957-8, the last from Porada 1970.

⁴ This is not a large number: compare the 2000 or so known Mitannian designs or, in another period, the 600 Old Babylonian and Isin-Larsa seals, from about the same length of time, in the British Museum alone.

⁵ This is the least well-defined of the styles, as it grades into First Kassite at one end and into Elamite at the other.

⁶ As there are many more Assyrian impressions than Babylonian - about two-thirds of the total compared to about one-fifth - it follows that the original Babylonian production may well have been larger. However the Assyrian style begins in the fourteenth century while First Kassite presumably must extend much further back in time.

⁷ The main exception is **1**; cf. also **192**, Ward 517 and others such as **124**, Gulbenkian 57, and the series **225**, **226**, **227**, **228**, **230** which are arguably not First Kassite.

⁸ First Kassite grades smoothly into pseudo-Kassite so we should expect to have to make a more or less arbitrary division somewhere. The most convenient criterion is that of material. Seals such as **190** and Thebes 34, in soft substances, are not quite First Kassite, especially the dress of the former and the arms of the latter.

⁹ **1**, **9**, **87**, **90**, in which the individual scenes are in conformity with each other (e.g. in the last the two figures can be combined to form a standard scene as in **89**, **91**, **92**). In **192** and **193** the second scene is Second Kassite.

¹⁰ **124** is an exception, but it is not quite First Kassite.

kind. In these seals the field is about the same size as an inscription column. The humans and symbols are discussed in the detailed analysis below.

First Kassite designs are mundane and extremely conventional. Although some of the human figures are probably divine they are not characterised as such in any way, either generically¹¹ or by the addition of identifying attributes. The style is thus a simplification of Old Babylonian practice. In contrast to every other late second millennium style the designs never include scenes of combat and no principal figure is ever an animal or any kind of fantastic being.¹² The absence of the tree¹³ is another remarkable divergence from the normal course of later second millennium glyptic. Indeed were the designs the sole source of information we should scarcely hesitate in describing the First Kassite seals as a special kind of Old Babylonian.

The First Kassite style is a direct descendent of the Old Babylonian style, and as such cannot have a 'beginning' because one cannot draw lines across a continuum. Late Old Babylonian glyptic showed two developments (Frankfort 1939, 150-1). One was to crowd the field with many schematic figures with much use of the drill.¹⁴ This led to the Babylonianising version of hard-stone Mitannian. The other was to simplify the design with a tendency to linear engraving and the subordination of the design to the inscription.¹⁵ This was the progenitor of the First Kassite style. Both of these developments were already under way in the reign of Samsuiluna, over a century before the fall of Babylon, and on the conventional chronology about three hundred years before the classic First Kassite age of the fourteenth century.¹⁶ In this time very little change occurred: 1, for example, which may be dated to c.1400 BC, is strikingly similar in style to BM III 379, which may belong to c.1600 BC (Collon 1986a, 155), both showing the same precise flat cutting and inscription interspersed with the figures.¹⁷

If, as here, the conventional chronology is adhered to, then there are three possible views of the sixteenth century. First, although the Old Babylonian dynasty had come to an end, a basically Old Babylonian culture continued. This is supported by the excessive numbers of Old Babylonian seals that exist. The difficulty is that the late Old Babylonian drilled style, and the style transitional to First Kassite, are both known to have been in existence already long before the end of the dynasty of Hammurabi. These late styles, moreover, are not particularly common.

Second, there was effectively no culture in the Dark Age. Conditions were so hard that people had more than enough to do keeping themselves alive. This solution involves an extreme case of a problem that is unavoidable in any case, namely that of the continuity of Mesopotamian culture. There is certainly a difference between the cultures of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages in Mesopotamia; but this difference is insignificant compared to the basic continuity, which survived past the next Dark Age at the end of the millennium as well. The Dark Ages of the second millennium in Mesopotamia are not comparable to the one in Greece between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, which involved essentially a fresh start. In material culture the problem of how ancient motives recur, despite being absent from the impoverished transitional styles, can to an extent be overcome by postulating the survival of heirlooms or a certain circulation of rediscovered antiquities. The question of written texts is more difficult. The cuneiform system is too complicated for it to be conceivable that it could have survived without scribal schools to sustain it. These schools, moreover, not only preserved their traditions in cities such as Babylon which were never deserted, but succeeded in colonising new cities inhabited by foreigners, such as Nuzi.¹⁸ We thus have continuous and even expansionary scribal schools over a period of more than a hundred years who have left us virtually no trace of their activities.

Third, the Dark Age had the same culture as the subsequent period. Just because the direct chronological evidence begins in the fourteenth century does not mean that all the material that can be related to it belongs to that time. The evidence for the Second Kassite style, for example, begins with 130, dated to Burnaburiash II in the middle of the fourteenth century. However the concept of flowing waters certainly derives from the Old Babylonian period, and was known to the Kassites at least as early as the time of the Kara-indash temple at Uruk at the end of the fifteenth century. Whether the more conservative expressions of it, such as 3, 140 and 141 should be mustered to fill the Dark Age gap or should be attached to 130 cannot be answered at present.

¹¹ e.g. by horned headdresses: see below, p. 83-4.

¹² Though monsters do very occasionally occur in a subsidiary position, e.g. 54.

¹³ Except perhaps in 29 and occasionally in secondary scenes, e.g. 117.

¹⁴ e.g. BM III 428, 430-434.

¹⁵ e.g. BM III 585-632.

¹⁶ Collon 1986a, 2; Beran 1957-8, 257.

¹⁷ Cf. Buchanan 1957, 46.

¹⁸ The most astonishing facet of this expansion is the establishment of Akkadian as the language of international diplomacy, apparently at a time when Egyptian political predominance was at its height. This is contrary to the situation with respect to, for example, Latin, French and English as international languages, and suggests that we may be seriously underestimating the influence of the earliest Kassite kings, unless some survival of the Amorite culture in Syria is responsible (for which see Anbar and Na'aman 1986-7, 11. I am indebted to Dr. Moorey for this reference).

On the evidence of *stylistic development*, therefore, the First Kassite style gradually emerged from 1750 BC, but was hardly distinct from Old Babylonian until after 1400 BC. The only large body of *dated seal impressions* of the style is from Nuzi. The earliest of these, **98**, belongs early in the second generation there. Nuzi was destroyed in about 1330 BC in the fifth generation.¹⁹ Assigning about 25 years per generation we obtain an estimate of c.1405 (1330 + 25 × 3) for **98**. Most of the Nuzi Kassite impressions are either strongly Mitannianising (Nuzi 700-707) or very restrained in their cutting, but **95** shows that fine detail of the best First Kassite kind was in existence by the second generation.

Nuzi seal impressions are always an unsatisfactory source because of the tenuous dating of the archive as a whole. Impressions, moreover, may be made long after the manufacture of their seals. The best kind of date is the *name of a known person engraved on an actual seal*. In our period the First Kassite style is the best provided with these, but they require some caution in their use.²⁰ Taking Brinkman (1976) as a source, we find that the following royal names occur on First Kassite seals:

Burnaburiash	: 28, 60 (Second Kassite: 130, 164).
Kadashman-Enlil	: unpublished seals in the Foroughi Collection and the Walters Art Gallery (Brinkman 1976, 136).
Kadashman-Turgu	: 182 (unparalleled style: Second Kassite ?).
Kara-indash	: 1 (no royal title given).
Kurigalzu	: 7, 9, 11, 38, 45, 58, 63, 66, 68, 69, 122 , Newell 665, and an unpublished seal from Surkh Dum, Sor. 1428 (Brinkman 1976, 231).
Nazi-Maruttash	: 33 .

Of these twenty-two seals, therefore, thirteen belong to Kurigalzu, and six to Burnaburiash or Kadashman-Enlil. The other names only occur once. This is an exceedingly irregular distribution, the more so as these seals are not from some hoard discovered in an excavation.²¹ The best explanation seems to be that placing the king's name on a seal was a fashion restricted to a short period of time. All three of the recurrent names were used more than once in the Kassite dynasty. However if the seals were the product of a passing fashion then it is reasonable to suppose that the three kings were adjacent to each other in the succession. Ignoring the ephemeral rulers Nazi-Bugash and Karakhardash we find that this succession must have been within the mostly fourteenth century sequence Kurigalzu I - Kadashman-Enlil I - Burnaburiash II - Kurigalzu II - Nazi-Maruttash - Kadashman-Turgu - Kadashman-Enlil II, with the underlined sequence the most likely one, for the following reasons:

Burnaburiash II: Burnaburiash I reigned probably in the early fifteenth century, and is therefore excluded by the principle of adjacency. Moreover if the Second Kassite seals **130** and **164** (belonging to a father and son) were early fifteenth century then the Second Kassite style would run for three hundred years. This seems most unlikely because it is so rare. The absence of Second Kassite from the Nuzi archive makes it unlikely that the style existed in the fifteenth or early fourteenth centuries.

Kadashman-Enlil I: Kadashman-Enlil II is a possibility because there are isolated seals dated to the two kings between him and Kurigalzu II. Neither of these seals, however, is of classic First Kassite form, though of course as neither of the Kadashman-Enlil seals is published it is possible that they are not either. The impression **243**, dated to Kadashman-Enlil II, may be First Kassite, though I am not sure that it is not pseudo-Kassite. On the whole Kadashman-Enlil I seems preferable.

Kurigalzu II: there are so many Kurigalzu seals that it is tempting to assign them to both kings of this name. This would still, however, leave both of them overrepresented and would raise the question of why there are not more seals of the intervening kings. Thus while one or two may belong to one of them most of them should be assigned to the other. As Newell 665 is dated to Kurigalzu II by patronymic this monarch is to be preferred.²²

If the sequence was as I have suggested then the fashion for naming the king may have had a political motive. The social background of the owners of these seals is very restricted. It appears that they are not royal seals, but belonged to important members of the court, even if the royal name is stated without some

¹⁹ This is a late estimate which has not been universally accepted. Dr. Stein has kindly sent me a copy of her forthcoming article in which she gives persuasive evidence for the destruction of Nuzi between 1350 and 1330 B.C.

²⁰ They constitute a traditional point of departure, e.g. Porada 1947, 55; 1948a, 63; Frankfort 1939, 182; Beran 1957-8, 256.

²¹ Though one is bound to wonder whether they may have been so once: compare the high proportion of some other types of Kassite inscribed stone which come from a hoard found at Nippur: Brinkman 1976, 120-121.

²² See the section on Arad-Ea for another argument, p. 59.

²³ e.g. **66**, which ends 'Kurigalzu, king of the world', includes a prayer that the owner receive the king's confidence: Limet 1971, 6.20.

²⁴ **7, 58; 1?** (no royal title given).

explanation.²³ There are members of the royal family,²⁴ sha-reshi officials,²⁵ a shakkanakku (11, 38) and other royal servants and officials.²⁶ An extraordinary feature is the number of seals which belong to the same or closely related persons. Kidin-Marduk owned 28 and 130, while his son had 164. His father may have been the owner of 34.²⁷ Uballissu-Marduk son of Arad-Ea possessed 9 and 68.²⁸ Duri-Ulmash had both 11 and 38, while 7 and 58 were owned by sons of Kurigalzu. It is not at all surprising that these high officials felt a need to own more than one seal, but statistically it ought to be impossible for so many of the actual seals to have survived. Duplication of seals is far more likely to be attested by impressions.²⁹

We thus have a small but very powerful group of men around King Kurigalzu, anxious to display their connection to him. Kurigalzu II came to the throne after usurpation and foreign intervention in the worst crisis of the Kassite monarchy between its origin and the war with Tukulti-Ninurta I in the late thirteenth century. Perhaps in the extraordinary preponderance of the name of Kurigalzu on the seals we may imagine the frantic self-assertion of an insecure monarch and the solidarity of a small court party dependent on foreign support.

In any case, since it is not certain that the Kara-indash of 1 was the late fifteenth century king of that name,³⁰ it follows that the earliest seals *certainly* dated by royal name are those of Burnaburiash II in about 1350 BC. As these include both First and Second Kassite designs, we find that the only reasons to suppose that First Kassite extends further back than Second are the Nuzi impressions of the foregoing sixty years or so and the fact that First Kassite is more obviously derived from Old Babylonian.³¹

The end of a style is always more difficult to locate because of the survival of seals in use. The latest certain First Kassite seal is 33, dated to Nazi-Maruttash; the impression 20 also belongs to this reign. 243 may be a survival or pseudo-Kassite, or as remarked above the style may have continued into the time of Kadashman-Enlil II.

However the conventional view is that First Kassite continues right down until the end of the Kassite dynasty because of an alleged similarity between the proportions of the humans in 49 and the wall-paintings of Aqar Quf.³² I find this entirely unconvincing. There is no reason to suppose that figure proportions in painting and glyptic follow the same conventions especially as there are no fourteenth century Babylonian paintings to show that such a change occurred in them; moreover the Aqar Quf paintings are adapted to the space made available by the architecture and even at that time a painter might have acted differently in a different context.³³ 174 and 184 show (Second Kassite) figures which, though in my opinion strays like 182, show in any case no tendency towards squatness. There is no even indirect evidence for First Kassite seals after 1250 BC, and two reasons not to bring the style down lower than the early thirteenth century. The first is that the pseudo-Kassite style is most conveniently located in the thirteenth century, and is best seen as an outgrowth from First Kassite (see below, p. 66f). The second is that, even though First Kassite is much the most common Babylonian style, it is still not very common and has such immense periods of time to cover in the Dark Age transition from Old Babylonian that it should not be brought down lower than necessary. The Aqar Quf paintings are better related to Iranian metal and glasswork on the one hand,³⁴ and to the pseudo-Kassite style on the other.³⁵

²⁵ 28, 63, 130, 164, Sor.1428.

²⁶ 9, 33, 60, 68, 122, the Foroughi seal.

²⁷ This seal does not give a royal name. See Collon 1987, 58, nos. 238-241.

²⁸ The Foroughi seal belonged to another Uballissu-Marduk, son of Nur-Bel. Cf. below, p. 59.

²⁹ e.g. 564, 582, Collon AOAT 11, 189, 193, 220; Ugaritica III figs. 32-35. Multiple royal seals probably each had a specific use, e.g. the 'seal of Itkhi-teshup' (626) was specifically for legal decisions about land (Wilhelm 1981, 7). Brinkman (1967, 72) discusses the evidence for a Babylonian equivalent. The statistical insignificance of individual persons is underlined by the extreme rarity of seals for which impressions have survived (see Collon 1987, 119). This implies that extant seals and impressions constitute a negligible proportion of the original quantities.

³⁰ Note that although the accounts of the intervention of Assuruballit to place Kurigalzu II on the throne are inconsistent, they both agree that a Kara-indash was involved: Brinkman 1976, 419-423.

³¹ If 34 does belong to Kidin-Marduk's father then it should probably be assigned to the previous reign, as Kidin-Marduk's son was old enough to hold high office before the death of Burnaburiash (164).

³² Beran 1957-8, 260, accepted e.g. by Boehmer 1975, 338.

³³ Tomabechi (1983) shows that the proportions of the Aqar Quf paintings were significantly altered in the reconstruction usually referred to. The correct version shows that arms of type 7, of the Babylonian standard which on my scheme was extinct by 1200 BC in glyptic, were still current in wall-painting at that time. I am indebted to Dr. Moorey for this reference.

³⁴ Porada 1972, 170; Amiet 1986, fig. 1. Is this material Iranian or Babylonian?

³⁵ Squat proportions: e.g. 248, though not in the style as a whole; figures in rows facing the same way: 241, 257, 258, Iraq 39-34. The last may be First Kassite, but the monsters in the upper register would fit better with pseudo-Kassite seals such as 266 or 267: but see 54 for a good First Kassite case. For another argument against a late date for the end of the First Kassite style see the section on the kudurrus, p. 81f.

3.2.1 Arad-Ea.

A fascinating sidelight on the chronology of the Kassite style is provided by the family of Arad-Ea, scribe *par excellence*. According to Lambert (1957) there are nineteen persons in the late and post-Kassite period, from the twelfth to the ninth centuries, who claimed Arad-Ea as a 'father' or ancestor. This suggests that the relationship is not usually exactly as given in the texts, because either Arad-Ea was a more or less remote ancestor, or perhaps that claiming such ancestry was a mark of 'guild membership' (Lambert 1957, 3). In one case, however, there is what looks more like a genuine line of descent, on the Marduk-apla-iddina kudurru BM 90850,³⁶ which gives:

Arad-Ea
Uballissu-Marduk
Rimeni-Marduk
Nabu-nadin-akhe
Marduk-zakir-shumi, governor.

The seal 9 extends this ancestry in a remarkable way.³⁷ It gives another line of descent:

Usiananuri(...), viceroy of Dilmun
Ushurana(...)
Arad-Ea
Ubalissu-Marduk.

Thus Uballissu-Marduk, who was an official of Kurigalzu, in his own seal, is not so much concerned to demonstrate his descent from Arad-Ea, as from the earlier viceroy of Dilmun. This makes it likely that he really was the son of Arad-Ea, as confirmed by his second seal, 68.³⁸ Since Lambert's examples of the 'conventional' use of Arad-Ea's name begin in the twelfth century, there is no reason to assume that the practice was already current in the fourteenth.³⁹ There is thus a case for regarding the first stage in the line of descent on the kudurru as a genuine one. But this is the stage which is most likely to be fictitious. Everybody would have known who Marduk-zakir-shumi's father was (these are, after all, men in public life), and none of the names in his ancestry except Arad-Ea would, on the present evidence, be more likely to carry weight with the reader if they lived in a more remote period than if they had recently died. Thus if the ancestry is not to be taken at face value, it is most likely that the 'father', 'grandfather' and 'great-grandfather' are genuine, and that there is then a gap between Uballissu-Marduk and Arad-Ea. It therefore seems to me probable that the whole descent on the kudurru is genuine, and the succession on the seal may be so as well.⁴⁰

If this can be believed, then we have seven generations. The first has a governor of Dilmun, the fourth is contemporary with Kurigalzu and the First Kassite style, while the seventh goes with a kudurru of Marduk-apla-iddina I almost at the end of the Kassite dynasty. There is no regnal year given, so the kudurru is no earlier than the first year of this reign, 1173 BC. The end of the reign of Kurigalzu II was in 1324 BC, so there are at least 151 years for the three generation spans from Uballissu-Marduk to Marduk-zakir-shumi.⁴¹ This gives a long generation span of fifty years.⁴² If Kurigalzu II produces such a high figure, then Kurigalzu I must be out of the question.⁴³ Reade (1986, 333) supports Kurigalzu II on the ground that a viceroy of Dilmun four or five generations before Kurigalzu I would be before the Kassite conquest of the Sealand. The knob inscribed 'Ula-Burariash king of the Sealand son of Burna-Burariash' (Brinkman 1976, 12) implies Kassite activity in the area probably after Burnaburiash I, who was a contemporary of Puzur-Assur III of Assyria, and may thus be dated to about 1500 BC. The Chronicle of Early Kings (Brinkman 1976, 12) states that further campaigning took place under a nephew of Ulam-Burash, so it seems unlikely that the Kassites could have started thinking

³⁶ King 1912, 26; Seidl 1968, no. 62; Lambert 1957, 9, no. 4(a).

³⁷ Reade 1986, 332. I am indebted to Dr. Collon for this reference. I have not harmonised the spelling conventions.

³⁸ Lambert mentions this seal in his additions and corrections (1957, 112) as CT 35, 36, and notes that the generations required are rather long.

³⁹ Alternatively one could identify this man with Uballissu-Marduk son of Nur-Bel (Brinkman 1976, 136: J.2.20), but he is a scribe of Kadashman-Enlil, whereas the former person is 'servant' (68) and 'shatammu' (9) of Kurigalzu.

⁴⁰ See Reade 1986, 333; but note that he is altogether more cautious than I.

⁴¹ Assuming that both men are at the same time of life. This is reasonable as both are holders of high office.

⁴² But not an impossible one: rich men are most likely to be able to acquire wives much younger than themselves. Brinkman 1976, 31 n87 gives a maximum generational average over five generations (of kings) of 55 years; Rowton 1958, 100, gives about 31 years maximum for seven generations. This figure could rise with fewer generations. However the length of this span is a sound argument for some missing stages.

⁴³ He would require three successive generations of about 70 years each.

about Dilmun before about 1480 BC.⁴⁴ This date is not incompatible with Kurigalzu I,⁴⁵ but as Reade states Kurigalzu II fits better as major Kassite building work is first attested in the southern cities at the end of the fifteenth century.

3.3 The Second Kassite style.

The Second Kassite style is the most attractive Babylonian style of our period and the principal Babylonian manifestation of the artistic revolution of the fourteenth century. Because of its rarity and its similarity to the other main product of that revolution, the Middle Assyrian style, it remained long unrecognised (e.g. Frankfort 1939, 188), although the two groups are quite distinct. The best general discussion is that of Beran (1957-8, 266-274), who built successfully on the foundation laid by Porada.⁴⁶ The most important collection of Second Kassite seals is that from the Thebes hoard (Thebes 26-34), whose discussion by Porada (1981/2, 49-67) constitutes a recent general survey of many of the features of the style.

In contrast to First Kassite, Second is not rigidly confined by rules and includes a wide variety of designs. All kinds of materials were used, though normally of good quality, and the engraving is likewise various, from the magnificent modelling of 139 to the precise flat cutting of 164. In general, though, Second Kassite forms have a harder outline and more linear detail than Middle Assyrian ones, but this difference is less pronounced with respect to the early Middle Assyrian seals.

The most important series is the 'chthonic god' cycle. This god rises up out of the groundwater (129) or the mountains (130) or both (131), and the lower part of his body is textured with wavy (130, 132, 133) or criss-cross (129, 135, 136) lines, which presumably represent either flowing waters or the rocky surface of a mountain, indeed very likely both. The Assur cult relief (Andrae 1977, fig. 144) shows 'mountain-scales' on the branch-bearing god's body while the attendant aquarii have wavy lines. The Kassite figure combines both functions. The same alternation occurs in the reliefs of the Kara-indash temple (Lloyd 1978, fig. 120), but there both types of figure bear flowing vases. In the ivory inlay from Assur (Andrae 1977, fig. 143) the god has 'mountain-scales' but bears a vase, unlike the cult relief. In the limited surface of a cylinder seal it was easier to combine the two aspects than to multiply the figures which would diminish the effect of the whole.⁴⁷ In some cases mountains are further indicated by undulating the outline of the god (132, 135), or are also depicted separately.⁴⁸ However despite their appearance in the Kara-indash temple reliefs 'mountain-scales' of the normal type are rare in the Second Kassite style.⁴⁹ The chthonic god may be depicted with small trees, suggesting his enormous size (129, 130, 133), and always either holds flowing waters⁵⁰ or dominates a pair of animals or monsters (131, 132, 133). In several cases a large bird, sometimes with two heads, is also shown.⁵¹

The identity of the god is disputed. Porada⁵² suggests that it may be Marduk because of the predominance of his name in the inscriptions. This, however, is common to all Kassite seals, as Porada remarks (cf. Limet 1971, 51-2), and therefore has no bearing on the designs unless it is considered that they all depict Marduk. This seems unlikely on account of the subordinate status of Marduk in the pantheon at the time, as Porada notes. Klengel-Brandt⁵³ advances an attractive hypothesis that the god of the cult relief is a personification of Mt. Ebikh, or of Assur who was associated with this mountain. But although this is not inappropriate for the cult relief it seems highly improbable for the Babylonian series.⁵⁴ Andrae (1977, 163-4) merely describes the ivory and the cult relief as showing a 'mountain-god'. Beran (1957-8, 271) gives the obvious view that flowing waters are the prerogative of Ea, and this is also the opinion of van Buren (1954a, 21-3). If we recall that the

⁴⁴ This date is 'long before' the conquest of the Sealand in Reade 1986, 333, but it is not necessary to take the conquest down two full generations after Burnaburiash I. If the generals are cadets of the royal line then it is not unlikely that they would be campaigning during the reigns of their fathers: war, after all, is a young man's activity.

⁴⁵ The seal gives three generation-spans from the viceroy of Dilmun to Uballissu- Marduk, assuming again that both are at the same time of life: estimating fairly short generations of 25 years would yield about 1470 BC.

⁴⁶ (1952). Van Buren (1954a, 18-28) also correctly identified the group and listed many of its members.

⁴⁷ Unless the aquarii of the cult relief should be equated with the fishmen who often accompany the god: 129, 134, 135, cf. 137, 140. However 129 and 135 show no difference in the rendering of the bodies of the god and the fishmen.

⁴⁸ 130, probably also 133 (thus van Buren 1954a, 21-21).

⁴⁹ 130, 161. Contrast the Assyrian version in 339. One of the main differences between the twisted tree in Assyrian and Second Kassite seals is that it rarely stands on a 'hill' in the latter. Cf. also in First Kassite the 'ascending posture' is almost entirely lost, and when it does occur is not accompanied by a 'hill': 78, 113.

⁵⁰ 129, 130, 134, 135, 136. Note he does not hold branches, as in the northern version of the cult relief, 339 and 462 (Porada 1975, 170). Moortgat-Correns 1964, 165-7, interprets Moortgat Festschrift 1 as another, and the frontal figures in 516 and 618 may be related. None of these includes a water scene, preferring vegetative elements.

⁵¹ 129, 135, cf. 131, 132.

⁵² 1981/2, 50-51 and n.151.

⁵³ 1980, 44: this article is compromised by the absence of the Second Kassite examples from the discussion.

⁵⁴ Unless some Babylonian god, such as Ninurta, can be counted as an equivalent of Assur in this context?

cult relief came from the Assur temple and that the Kara-indash temple was dedicated to Inanna, it is apparent that there is considerable scope for confusion. Indeed in my opinion it is better not to pose the question. The god is connected with fertility in plants and waters, with animals, monsters and fishmen, with the sky and with the hills. Allowing for a little syncretism it would be difficult to find any major god in the pantheon who could not be related to several of these.

The question of which god is represented automatically implies the exclusion of those gods which are not represented. It is possible to devise an artistic means of expressing concepts of this sort, by means of conventional attributes or symbols. Old Babylonian and neo-Assyrian glyptic is of this nature, and so are the kudurrus. Shamash has his saw, Adad his lightning, and so on. But the First Kassite seals were conspicuously not of this kind, and neither, one may suggest were the Second Kassite. There is a scholastic mentality which delights in assembling catalogues of names and symbols, sometimes with extraordinary elaboration.⁵⁵ But there is an equally important religious attitude that recognises no essential plurality in heaven and often has a more immediate and mystical appreciation of the divine in the natural world. The Second Kassite god is better explained as a manifestation of the latter, which need not have had much or any impact on the literary evidence.⁵⁶

If the chthonic god does not represent some specific deity but rather some general concept of 'godhead' then the lack of consistency in the designs is not surprising. So far we have only looked at figures whose lower bodies do not appear to be human, but there are closely related designs which are centred on human beings. The two scenes involving the chthonic god were the water scene and a scene of mastery of animals or monsters. 137, 138 and 139 show these two scenes in exactly the same way but with a nude man standing in the middle.⁵⁷ The water scene can also centre on a kneeling nude man or the fishman can appear alone.⁵⁸ 142 shows an interesting combination of the two scenes: in the middle a nude winged man subdues two bulls while watery creatures, the fish-cloaked man and two goatfish, are shown round about.⁵⁹

A demon dominating animals is the subject of another series (145-148). Moortgat (1970, 103) drew attention to this group but expressed difficulty in classifying it owing to the similarity of the configuration to Syrian and Iranian seals. While this similarity is sound, the other examples are not otherwise related to these seals, which form a coherent group. There is no doubt that it should be counted as Second Kassite, because of the trees, the birds and the inscriptions.

145 has a tripartite palm tree. Tripartite trees are a feature of the Second Kassite style, and there is a close parallel in 186.⁶⁰ 146 has the 'Second Kassite Tree', a kind of elaborated volute-tree with fruits like bunches of grapes.⁶¹ 145 has a pair of birds seated in the tree with heads turned back.⁶² In 147 the bird has outstretched wings, which are both above the body.⁶³ This bird appears to be an osprey or some other fish-eagle.⁶⁴ The inscriptions in 145 and 146 are horizontal with carefully arranged cut-outs to accommodate the design.⁶⁵

Wings in Second Kassite seals are usually angled in the middle, so that the outermost feathers are almost horizontal.⁶⁶ This form does occur in Assyria (e.g. 280, 281) but it is more usual for the wings to extend at a continuous angle.⁶⁷ When animals are held upside down in Second Kassite they sometimes twist their heads right round to look horizontally backwards (145, 146). Assyrian animals do not bend their heads more than in 427. Because of the conjunction of these two criteria I think 149 should be included in the Second Kassite series with a demon swinging animals. The bottom of the impression is not preserved but it looks as though there is room for the demon to be standing on two animals as in the series discussed by Moortgat.⁶⁸

⁵⁵ Consider for example late Jewish demons or mediaeval saints.

⁵⁶ The scribes had an interest in maintaining the polytheistic pantheon as it tended towards a multiplicity of temples. Cf. Amiet 1980b, 36.

⁵⁷ 204 has much the same syntax but the engraving looks more Third Kassite.

⁵⁸ 140, 141; cf. 131.

⁵⁹ The fish-cloaked man also occurs in 143 and 144, but these may be better described as First Kassite.

⁶⁰ Cf. 133, 171; see Kepinski 1982, I, 103. Note the Assur ivory Haller 1954, 137 fig. 163b; but not Assyrian seals.

⁶¹ 129, 131, 138, 161, 163, 171, 172, 173, 187, 188, 192-195.

⁶² These recur in 131, 133, 163, 192 and probably 160 and 173.

⁶³ As in 171, 177 and 178.

⁶⁴ See 178, 180 and 188.

⁶⁵ As in 129, 138, 160 and 153, though in the last case the design does not fit, suggesting that there was a change of plan.

⁶⁶ 129, 135, 139, 142, 145, 146, 177, 178, 185.

⁶⁷ e.g. 428, 476, 487, 14 Glyptik 10, 13, 14.

⁶⁸ 1970, 103. There is another demon, apparently with a monster, in 150. Moore 73 may be another member of the group. Everything about this seal looks false, but there are too many Second Kassite features (the demon standing on two animals, the framed cross, the bird, the two rampant caprids) for comfort, especially as the style was not known at the time that it was collected. It may be that it is a forgery of a genuine seal that has not since emerged, perhaps with some confusion with an Achaemenid seal such as CANES 824, 825, VR 762, 763.

In 138 and 139 we had a nude figure dominating rampant animals on either side. Such pairs of slender animals, steeply rampant, and with their forelegs folded together in a characteristic manner, are especially typical of the Second Kassite style. In 177 they flank a man in a long dress holding three plants, with the Second Kassite bird and the framed cross above. If this man is replaced by a tree, then we obtain 168 and 172. In the former the tree is of the twisted type, but it is not set on a 'hill' as it would be in this scene in Assyria (e.g. 432), so the animals can lean across it to face each other over the top. This feature, and the forelegs, show that the Nippur impressions 169 and 175 are not Assyrian but good Second Kassite. The latter has a man like the one in 177, though this time at the side. 174 and 176 show the same scene.⁶⁹

In 138 there was a tall tree acting as a terminal to the scene. This also occurs with the scene of animals flanking a tree, so that there are two trees, in 171 and 173. Here the central tree is of twisted type while the terminal, as in 138, is the Second Kassite volute-tree. In 170 the twisted tree is combined with the palm tree, though this time in registers.

We found not just animals but also winged animals (132) dominated by a central figure, and in the same way winged animals can appear in the scenes centred on a tree. The central tree is again of the twisted type with the winged animals rampant over it, and the terminal tree can be present⁷⁰ or absent (164, 165).

Nearly all of the designs so far mentioned, comprising the greater part of the style, have the same basic composition. The design is centred on an upright element, whether chthonic god, human, demon or tree. This is flanked by a pair of diagonal elements, fishmen, animals or monsters. The scene is finished by a vertical terminal element, a tree or an inscription, which is not usually integral to the composition.⁷¹ The remaining designs are less consistent and their ascription to Second Kassite is less certain.

The famous impression 161, with a leaping centaur aiming at a Second Kassite volute-tree, introduces a small series where there is one animal rather than two. 162 shows a winged animal in similar pose, while 160 has an animal.⁷² The general appearance of the chariot scene 159 may be compared to 161: both show an archer combined with a leaping animal. However there is no special reason to count either 159 or Thebes 38 as Babylonian.⁷³

154 and 151 are other cases of seals with a single main animal in leaping posture occupying much of the surface, this time in contest scenes. The latter has caused much confusion in the past owing to its strongly Assyrian appearance.⁷⁴ Although the lion and the animal of 151 look superficially Assyrian, neither is so in detail and the rest of the design (tree, dog, locust, rhombs, inscription) is explicitly Kassite.⁷⁵ 154 and 151 have the same inscription (though expanded in the latter) which also occurs in 155 where we find the same flat cutting style. This last has a very close parallel, especially in the heads of the bulls, in 156, which is on a tablet dated to Nazi-Maruttash in about 1300 BC. In the Assyrian chapter I shall date some close parallels to seals of this group⁷⁶ to the reign of Adad-nirari I, who was a younger contemporary of Nazi-Maruttash. As at that time designs of this kind were no less novel in Assyria than they were in Babylonia there is no reason automatically to assume that the inspiration came from the north.

155 is in two registers with a seated human in the upper one accompanied by an animal and a bird of Second Kassite appearance. This scene introduces a series which is much closer to First Kassite than any design discussed so far. There is a similar design in 180, while the human is standing in 178. These two seals have the motive of a bird with a fish, which also occurs in 188 where it perches on the Second Kassite volute-tree beside the man.⁷⁷ These seals include both First Kassite elements in the humans and symbols such as the

⁶⁹ Cf. the early thirteenth century Assyrian seal 431, though with the tree on a 'hill'.

⁷⁰ 166, 167 may be another case.

⁷¹ 135 is an exception. Contrast the Assyrian situation, e.g. 289, 329.

⁷² Legrain 1951, 42 sees a standing worshipper which I was unable to discern on either his photograph or the original seal. However as it is a very fragile glass seal from which more than half of the surface has flaked off, it is not impossible that more evidence was available to him. Van Buren (1954a, 19) restores two animals, while Beran (1957-8, 271) has two palm trees. There is hardly room for another animal, while the 'second palm tree' is a branch like the ones in 145 and 186. From these it should be restored as a tripartite palm tree, with a similar branch on the other side. This would not leave enough room for a standing human, though there might conceivably be a small bush, as in 162. The two branches probably each originally supported a bird, of which traces of one are preserved. See also 157.

⁷³ Porada (1981-2, 64-7) counts the first as Kassite and the second as possibly Mycenaean. In the absence of any other Second Kassite chariot scenes (Porada cites an unpublished one from Aqar Quf, which I was unable to see in Baghdad in May 1988) it is impossible to judge whether these conform to type.

⁷⁴ Frankfort 1939, 188 classes it as Assyrian but recognises the Kassite elements, while Beran 1957-8, 271 gives the opposite view. Buchanan is quoted (Moorey-Gurney 1978, 50) giving the correct account of 154, that it is Kassite of about 1300 BC.

⁷⁵ The lion is close to the one on the left in 153, while the animal has the typical Second Kassite forelegs (also in 153). Contrast Assyrian examples such as 434, 437.

⁷⁶ e.g. 306, 317. See p. 95-7.

⁷⁷ Other designs with a man and a tree are 184, 186, 187 and 189. 191 may also belong here, though it could be Assyrian (the tree is reminiscent of 435 and 490).

framed cross, the rosette, the rhomb, the dog, and the corn ear, and Second Kassite motives in the elaborate trees, the irregular layouts (180, 186, 189) and the flamboyant birds.⁷⁸ 185 might be classed as First Kassite were it not for the bird with outstretched wings. The cross-like motive opposite the framed cross is, as we learn from 132, a cross made out of rhombs, as also occurs in 190 where the material and the man's dress are not what we would expect in First Kassite.

Finally 182 and 152 should be mentioned. They are both unique but have several First Kassite elements.⁷⁹ It is notable that the unusual motive of the suckling animal occurs in both. Small animals beneath larger ones occur in the Second Kassite seal 166, but not in a suckling posture.⁸⁰

3.3.1 Second Kassite chronology.

Second Kassite certainly coexisted with First, as is shown by its earliest occurrence, already in mature form, in 130 of the reign of Burnaburiash II, and also by 193 and 192, which combine scenes of each style. One cannot therefore speak of a transition between them in either space or time.⁸¹ The style was probably at its height at the end of the fourteenth century.⁸²

The latest evidence for Second Kassite is the stratification of the Thebes hoard at c. 1220 BC; two impressions from Ur, 134, 165, at c. 1210 BC; 132 (Subeidi), 1225 BC or earlier; and three impressions from Assur, 149, 174, 184 of c. 1100 BC.⁸³ If the end of the style is placed at c. 1200 BC then we have one and a half centuries for its total duration, which seems ample for such a rare style.⁸⁴

Porada has suggested criteria for the internal chronology of the style.⁸⁵ The late fourteenth century evidence⁸⁶ shows that there were two cutting styles then in use, one delicate and beautifully modelled, the other flat, with a firm outline, like First Kassite (Collon 1987, 61). Porada proposes that a third style, which is less carefully executed and more strongly linear, as in 135, should be later. It is reasonable to imagine that the seals with a restrained design centred on a single human, which are not far removed from First Kassite⁸⁷ are relatively early, but in 183 we have an impression of this kind dated to Shagaraktishuriash, and 184 is still later. An impression (157) on the Aqar Quf tablet IM 51927⁸⁸ may indicate that the latest Second Kassite seals are simple designs with trees and animals, which are considerably smaller than the earlier ones.⁸⁹ As scenes with trees and animals are typical of the Third Kassite style,⁹⁰ and form the most important series which does not occur among the datable fourteenth century designs, this suggestion makes good sense.

⁷⁸ 192 and 193 have the same elements, but in them the First and Second Kassite parts are used in separate scenes. Cf. also 179, 181, 183.

⁷⁹ The upper scene of the former, cf. 25, 33; most of the filling symbols in the latter including especially the carrion-birds, as 24, 27 (see Boehmer 1981, 73-5 and Porada 1972, 173-5 for Iranian relations).

⁸⁰ Cf. 167, 204. Compare fourteenth century (458, cf. 287) and early - mid thirteenth century (320, 359, 436) Assyrian seals, but note this motive also in Mitannian (BN 474) and Aegeanising (552) seals and in the Iranian gold beaker, Negahban 1964, pl. IV. 182 names the early thirteenth century king Kadashman-Turgu in the inscription.

⁸¹ Though seals such as 178, 185, 188, 190 lie between them stylistically.

⁸² See the Nippur impressions published in Porada 1952; cf. Beran 1957-8, 266.

⁸³ According to Porada 1981-2, 64-6 there is an unpublished impression from Aqar Quf with a chariot scene which may eventually be relevant. Another Aqar Quf tablet bears, according to its text, the seal impression of a twelfth century governor, which would be of immense value in the problem of late Kassite glyptic (Gurney 1949, 137, no. 7). I am much obliged to Professor Brinkman for telling me that this is the tablet DK3-8 illustrated by Baqir 1945, pl. XXII. Unfortunately nothing can be discerned from the photograph, though the original tablet would be worth examining. The Iraq Museum was willing to let me see it in May 1988, but it was then at Aqar Quf.

⁸⁴ The cases from Assur are strays in space and so may also be in time. By 1100 BC the Third Kassite style was in residence in Babylonia.

⁸⁵ Porada proposes (1981-2, 69) that the Thebes hoard, except 130, belongs to the later thirteenth century. 129 is placed 'at the earliest, after the middle of the thirteenth century' and the others are then dated with it because of stylistic similarities such as the outlining of the heads. The late date for 129 is based on comparison with the 'later' engraving style of 135, which, however, is more strongly linear and is undated itself; on comparison with the faces and headdresses on two stelai from Susa which are themselves dated by comparison with a Meli-Shipak kudurru which has a *different* headdress and which must be later than the seal as the hoard was lost a couple of generations before this king's reign (Porada 1981-2, 53). The tree on 186 is also dated to the mid thirteenth century by comparison with a Nippur impression (Porada 1981-2, 56, fig. p). It is likely that there were some differences in the thirteenth century seals, and with the present deficiency in the evidence these suggestions are the best that can be made.

⁸⁶ 130, 164, Porada 1952, and the group 151, 154, 155, 156.

⁸⁷ 177, 178, 185, 187-190, cf. 143, 192, 193.

⁸⁸ Gurney 1949, no. 3: the seal of Kudurru, mayor of Lubdu. Tell al Abyad, level I in the palace, i.e. late in the Kassite dynasty (Level II is dated to Kashiiliash and Kudur-Enlil in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Baqir 1945, 10) but not as late as the Painted Palace (Baqir 1945, 8-12, Baqir 1946, 88).

⁸⁹ The average height of Second Kassite seals is about 4.5 cm (this is the largest average for any style of our period). 157 is distorted but must have been made by a seal about 2 cm high. Compare 164 with 165: one is fourteenth century, the other late thirteenth, and they differ markedly only in size. Cf. also 158.

⁹⁰ Though there the size is large, with an average height around 4 cm.

3.4 The Third Kassite style.

The Third Kassite style represents the least inspiring phase in the whole history of Babylonian glyptic. With rare exceptions the subjects are as uninteresting as the engraving is undistinguished. The style displays moreover a stronger dependence on Assyrian prototypes than on Babylonian, and the centre of its activity is unknown. Frankfort (1939, 189) called it a 'second Middle Assyrian school' while van Buren (1954a, 28-32) described it as the fusion of First and Second Kassite. Herzfeld called it the 'Isin II' group (Beran 1957-8, 274) because the dating indications point towards the time of this dynasty, and this term has alternated with 'Third Kassite' (Beran 1957-8, 274-278) since. Although I am not very convinced by the direct evidence linking the style to the end of the Kassite dynasty I agree with Beran (1957-8, 278) that 'Isin II' specifies too closely and prefer 'Third Kassite' as a term expressing its place at the end of the later second millennium development in Babylonia. The general considerations outlined below lead me to place it in the twelfth century, thus overlapping the Kassite and second Isin dynasties. Trokay (1981) has recently reviewed the problem and comes to the conclusion that Third Kassite is a kind of late appendage to Second Kassite, just as First Kassite is a late adaptation of Old Babylonian. In this section I shall sketch the main trends with a view to demonstrating that the inheritance is more from mature Assyrian than from Second Kassite.⁹¹

In the discussion it is necessary to distinguish between the rare finer examples, such as **212**, which provide most of the field for discussion of stylistic influences, and the common crude seals (UEX 585-593, etc.) which contribute the archaeological evidence. There is no doubt that the coarse style existed in Babylonia, from the examples from Ur and other sites,⁹² but sub-Assyrian seals of this kind are not restricted to southern Mesopotamia.⁹³

The finer seals, on the other hand, display an indubitable relationship to some kudurrus and to the metal ring-stamps from Luristan.⁹⁴ There does not seem to me to be any way of deciding whether these fine seals should be ascribed to Babylonia or to Luristan.⁹⁵

On the face of it the subjects of the seals could be derived either from Second Kassite or from Assyrian designs of the thirteenth century. In nearly every case a tree is shown accompanied by one or two animals or winged animals. There are three kinds of tree. The most important may be called the 'Third Kassite tree' because it is so characteristic. It is a kind of garland-tree, usually with striated leaves and volutes.⁹⁶ Trokay derives it from the Second Kassite volute-tree (1981, 19-20), but while her comparison of the leaves with **131** and the like is sound, the way in which the leaves form an independent garland around the inner tree is not known in Second Kassite, where each leaf is always attached to the stem. Such garlands are, however, not uncommon in Assyria.⁹⁷ The tree occurs both in the finest (**211** etc.) and the coarsest Third Kassite seals (e.g. Nippur I pl.115:17).

The other tree found in the good-quality series is the palm.⁹⁸ A rectilinear tree in the crude seals is probably

⁹¹ See Trokay 1981 for a more detailed account of the various opinions. The list of seals given in Trokay 1981, 40f may be supplemented by: Gibson 1983, fig. 31, Isin II no. 53, BM 89455, 89518, 89560, 89643, 119197, 119198, 136866, UEX 586, 592, Brussels 417, BIF 902, Nippur I pl.114:8, pl.115:17, VR 563, 688, CANES 591, Boston 29.1086; and less certainly: UEX 587, 588, 590, 591, 604, 606, 615, 616, 621, BM 86268, 89232, 89361, 89386, 132829, Ash 565, 566, Louvre S544, CANES 590, IM 19053 and Marcopoli 654.

Third Kassite seals are particularly common in the art market. Unless this is a consequence of the very active plundering that has ravaged Luristan it is probably due to the ease of forging their boldly engraved designs. See the *Hotel Drouot* catalogues 20-22 Mai 1959, nos. 260, 261; 14 Mai 1962, no. 60; 25 Avril 1966, nos. 89, 90; 29-30 Octobre 1973.

⁹² Uruk: **221**, Boehmer 1972, pl.20 b,c; Babylon: **199**; Isin I no. 40, Isin II no. 53; Nippur: Gibson 1983, fig. 31, Nippur I pl.114:8, pl.115:17; Abu Hatab: **198**.

⁹³ Cyprus: Ash 565?; Nineveh: **217**; Hama fig. 195 C,D are very much in this tradition.

⁹⁴ Kepinski 1982, III, nos. 552-554; BM 136975, said to come from Luristan, is an example in the British Museum. UET VII 26 has the impression of a ring-stamp on an Ur tablet. See also the very curious irregular piece of stone BM 91006, illustrated by Kepinski 1982, III, no. 466 (not a seal-impression). This drawing, reproduced after Herzfeld, is erroneous as the lower line of hatched triangles does not exist, being replaced by a line of inscription. The appearance is correctly sketched by Layard 1853, 562, where it is said to have been obtained at Nippur, not at Ur. The label in the British Museum says that the inscription gives the name of the owner Marduk-nasir. It was surely made by a seal-cutter, but whether as a trial-piece or perhaps as a dedicatory object is uncertain (cf. Collon 1987, no. 450). If the latter, then the border of triangles was by then purely decorative, as it could not be meant to simulate a metal cap on this object.

⁹⁵ See Trokay 1981, 22-24. As the kudurrus are certainly closer to the fine series it must have impinged on Babylonia to some extent, but whether indigenously or under the influence of Luristan is unclear. Seals of this general tradition seem to have persisted in Iran into the first millennium (e.g. Susa 2122, 2124, Surkh Dum 39, 40) and the cross seems to have established itself as a symbol in western Iran: Surkh Dum 37, Porada 1972, fig. 8.

⁹⁶ Kepinski 1982, I, 98, type V 1.6.

⁹⁷ **329, 335, 414, 424, 425, 494.**

⁹⁸ **208, 210**, cf. the object BM 91006.

⁹⁹ **222**, UEX 583, 587, 588, 591, (Ur); **217** (Nineveh).

a simplified version of it.⁹⁹ These also have an object which may be either a tree or a *marru*.¹⁰⁰ Although the *marru* does not occur in Second Kassite and is doubtful in First,¹⁰¹ there is no question that it was depicted in at least some Third Kassite seals.¹⁰² 197, which shows a man with an altar before a *marru* mounted on an animal, probably a mushkhushu-dragon, on a base, may be Third Kassite because of the *marru*,¹⁰³ but the man has a somewhat Assyrian appearance and the guilloche border occurs in other seals with combined Assyrian and Third Kassite traits.¹⁰⁴ In all of these the angular linear engraving is closer to Third Kassite seals of the better series than to any Middle Assyrian style.

The trees are usually accompanied by animals or monsters. The animals have horns of types 17 or 18.¹⁰⁵ In the finer series these creatures usually flank the tree, while there is normally only one animal in the coarser seals, which do not usually include monsters. The monsters are generally winged animals with horns of types 17 and 18, but include the sphinx in 208 and 211. 212 has a clear case of the winged human-headed ibex, and this may occur elsewhere also (e.g. 206, 207).

When comparing these scenes with possible Assyrian and Second Kassite forebears the first observation is that Second Kassite does not include the scene of 'animal or winged animal and tree'¹⁰⁶ which is common in Assyrian.¹⁰⁷ This indicates that the coarser series, which prefers the simpler scene, is derived from Assyrian.

The other scene, with two animals or winged animals flanking a tree, is more difficult to account for. In several cases the two creatures are not of the same kind.¹⁰⁸ There are no exact parallels to these scenes in either Second Kassite or Assyrian, which are symmetrical here.¹⁰⁹ The version where there are two animals with horns of type 17 is the most common in both Assyrian and Second Kassite.¹¹⁰ It is rare for them both to have horns of type 18 in Assyria¹¹¹ though it occurs in Second Kassite (169, 170, 171). A scene showing two winged animals flanking a tree, with horns of type 17, is rare in Assyria (BM 89776) and unknown in Second Kassite, where winged animals always have horns of type 18. Accordingly two winged animals with horns 18 occurs in Second Kassite (164, 165, 166), though not in Assyria.¹¹² However this scene never actually occurs in Third Kassite.¹¹³ The sphinx is common in Assyrian but never occurs in Second Kassite.¹¹⁴

Third Kassite seals normally have some, though not many, symbols in the field. The most important are the cross, the rhomb, the crescent, the star and the bird. The crescent and star are ubiquitous in both the coarse and the fine seals. Neither occurs in Second Kassite, but they are the most common and broadly distributed symbols in mature Assyrian seals. The rhomb and the cross, on the other hand, are the most frequent Second Kassite symbols, and the rhomb at least must be derived from there as it is extremely rare in Assyrian. The Third Kassite cross is of the Maltese form, and could be an adaptation of either the Second Kassite framed cross or of the Assyrian split-ended cross.¹¹⁵ The Third Kassite birds are various¹¹⁶ but none resembles the Assyrian 'swooping bird' and some are reminiscent of Second Kassite.¹¹⁷

Although most of the Third Kassite scenes are composed of animals or monsters and trees there are a few with other designs, usually involving humans. In 198, 200, 201, Gibson 1983, fig. 31 and UEX 616 we have a standing or kneeling archer firing at an animal. This scene does not appear in Second Kassite, but is common in Assyria.¹¹⁸ In 199 the archer rides in a chariot: it is uncertain whether there are any Second Kassite chariot

¹⁰⁰ 200, 201, 219, BM 89518.

¹⁰¹ The object in 35 is a Marduk symbol in Frankfort 1939, 181 but van Buren (1954a, 6) and Beran (1957-8, 260) think it is an altar. This seems probable in the light of the similar scene 27, but since the *marru* was a common Old Babylonian symbol (Collon 1986a, 54) one is left to wonder where it went in the interim.

¹⁰² 208, 213, 220. In 541, which is as much Elamite as Third Kassite, it is probably an altar, because of the context in the Fan Scene.

¹⁰³ Cf. on kudurrus, Seidl 1968, 120.

¹⁰⁴ 196, 203. Dr. Collon drew my attention to the Assyrian angle.

¹⁰⁵ Also type 7: 203, 212, 215.

¹⁰⁶ Except 160, 162.

¹⁰⁷ 'animal and tree': horns 17, e.g. 13 Glyptik 42; horns 18, e.g. 334. 'winged animal and tree': horns 17, e.g. 412; horns 18, e.g. 425.

¹⁰⁸ 210, 211 (lower register), 212, 215, Newell 417, Scheil 1916, no. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Though cf. 414.

¹¹⁰ e.g. 168, 319-332.

¹¹¹ Unpublished impression on KAJ 76, kindly shown to me by Mr. Postgate.

¹¹² Although this monster is common in Assyria, e.g. 425, VR 593.

¹¹³ Winged bulls occur in other contexts in 209, 211 and 210 (?), but the unclear seals 205 and Isin II no. 53 could be restored thus.

¹¹⁴ Note also that the Third Kassite trees on the kudurru BM 90835 (Seidl 1968, no. 74) are also accompanied by Assyrian creatures, the griffin-demon and the scorpion-man.

¹¹⁵ Cf. 129, 130, 186, 188, 189; or 435, 436.

¹¹⁶ 210, 215, 217, 218, CANES 590, Boston 29.1086.

¹¹⁷ Flanking the tree in 210: cf. 170, 171; swooping on an animal in 215: cf. 177.

¹¹⁸ e.g. 354, 13 Glyptik 13; for the tree between archer and victim in 198 cf. 311-314.

scenes (see Porada 1981/2, 64-7) but there are two Assyrian cases.¹¹⁹ In **202** a man wrestles with a lion, again an Assyrian scene not found in Second Kassite.¹²⁰ **204**, on the other hand, is apparently transitional to Second Kassite,¹²¹ and **203** may be a development from Second Kassite seals such as **142**. An animal fighting a lion does occur in Second Kassite (**151**), but the way the animal kneels before its assailant in BM 89386 is closer to Assyrian cases such as **385**. Finally **196** shows a perfect Third Kassite tree, with a Babylonian fish-cloaked being on the left¹²² and an Assyrian human on the right¹²³ with a winged disk above, a symbol which is not Babylonian.¹²⁴ Other Third Kassite seals with humans include **197**, **205**,¹²⁵ **541**,¹²⁶ UEX 583, CANES 590, BM 119198,¹²⁷ Turin 70029, and perhaps Louvre S544.

To conclude, although there are some features of the Third Kassite style which are more likely to derive from Second Kassite than from Assyrian,¹²⁸ and some which could as well be Second Kassite as Assyrian,¹²⁹ there are more which are most likely to have come from Assyria.¹³⁰ However the style deserves recognition in its own right¹³¹ because some of its features are not common in any other style,¹³² especially the distinctive and characteristic heavy treatment of the upper and lower borders.¹³³

3.4.1 Chronology.

The Assyrian connections are with the mature phase of the style which began in the thirteenth century, and as stated by Porada (1970, 128) a late date is also implied by the absence of Third Kassite from the Nippur impressions. The evidence for the date of the Third Kassite style is supplied by the presence of the distinctive Third Kassite tree on some kudurrus belonging to rulers of the Second dynasty of Isin, around 1100 BC.¹³⁴ In Beran's opinion (1957-8, 277) **221** and **199**, one from the Kassite level of Warka, the other from between the earlier and later Kassite levels of Merkes in Babylon (Moortgat 1940, 136), demonstrate that the style began in the thirteenth century. **199** has no specifically Third Kassite trait except for the border of triangles; as Beran noted (1957-8, 278) it has much in common with the twelfth century Assyrian seal **421**. **221** is certainly Third Kassite, but no reliance should be placed on the stratification of isolated seals, even in modern excavations. The Third Kassite style is a rare one which was certainly in existence in 1100 BC. It seems unlikely that it extended back before the end of Second Kassite in about 1200 BC. I have no suggestion as to the end of the Third Kassite style except to repeat that it is not now associated with Nabu-mukin-apli in the tenth century and, being a rare style, probably did not last for very long after 1100 BC.

3.5 The pseudo-Kassite style.

The pseudo-Kassite style¹³⁵ is a derivative of First Kassite which was used in Babylonia and Elam. It should be distinguished from the Elamite style of **545-549**, Choga Zanbil 57-87 which is not so close to First Kassite and does not occur in Babylonia. There are thus two criteria to define pseudo-Kassite: similarity to First

¹¹⁹ **421**, Iraq 39-26: cf. especially the tumbling animals in the former.

¹²⁰ Cf. **443**, Iraq 39-5.

¹²¹ Especially in the forelegs and the small animals: cf. **138**, **139**, **166**.

¹²² Cf. in First Kassite, **143**, **144**; in Second, **142**.

¹²³ Cf. **499**, **501**, **530**, **534**.

¹²⁴ As the winged disk only revived in Assyria some time after the thirteenth century this confirms the date in the twelfth century or later proposed below.

¹²⁵ With a mainly Second Kassite syntax, as **174**, **175**, **176**; but in Assyrian, **431**.

¹²⁶ With an Elamite Fan Scene: see p. 113.

¹²⁷ The only parallel I know of this scene of two humans holding hands before a tree is the kudurru Seidl 1968, no. 23 with a seated person instead of the tree; but cf. also the Assyrian seal **307**.

¹²⁸ The rhomb, the birds, and the scene with creatures with horns 18 flanking a tree.

¹²⁹ The cross, the palm tree, the animal with horns 17 flanking a tree.

¹³⁰ The Third Kassite volute-tree, the sphinx, the crescent, the star, the archery scenes, and the scenes with a single creature facing a tree.

¹³¹ As against Trokay 1981, 32, who describes it as an appendage to Second Kassite.

¹³² The *marru*, the tree flanked by creatures of different kinds, the winged animal with horns 17.

¹³³ Usually hatched triangles imitating metal caps (see Trokay 1981, 21, 28 for forerunners), sometimes further elaborated as in **196**, **203** and **213**, cf. **197**. Sometimes in the coarser group there is simply a double line border (**224**, Isin I no. 40, BM 89560) which also occurs in the sub-Assyrian seal Hama fig. 195 E.

¹³⁴ Seidl 1968, nos. 74, 76, 79. No. 74 is dated to Nabu-mukin-apli in the tenth century (Beran 1957-8, 276), but is a recut earlier piece clearly originally contemporary with the others (Seidl 1968, 95-96). I have inspected this kudurru in the public galleries of the British Museum and agree entirely with Seidl.

¹³⁵ Note that although I have borrowed this excellent term from Porada (1970), my usage of it is quite different and much broader than hers.

Kassite, and presence in Babylonia. Unfortunately these two do not exactly correspond. The most important source of pseudo-Kassite seals is Choga Zanbil, but as this site is in Elam it is not so suitable for distinguishing between pseudo-Kassite and Elamite as Nippur, the second largest source.

At Nippur, on the other hand, there is more confusion with First Kassite. We should thus begin with those designs which are clearly distinct from First Kassite. These are **251, 252, 253, 267, 271, 272, 273**, Philadelphia 551, 559, Nippur I pl.120:2. All of these, except **253**, are impressions. They differ from First Kassite in some obvious respects. The most important is that they do not all have an inscription running the whole height of the seal: this feature is almost invariable in true First Kassite seals. Instead the inscription is sometimes here truncated (**252**), and sometimes missing altogether.¹³⁶ In First Kassite, though there are sometimes horizontal strips above or below the main scene, this scene itself always has a vertical accent. Here we have compositions entirely in horizontal bands.¹³⁷ In First Kassite scenes are divided from each other by simple lines: here we have double lines (**251**) and a profusion of hatched bands.¹³⁸ First Kassite does not portray monsters¹³⁹ and has a restrained attitude to the wings of birds.¹⁴⁰ In pseudo-Kassite, wings both of monsters and of birds are elaborated or strongly hatched.¹⁴¹

At this point we can turn elsewhere to add a few more cases. **241**,¹⁴² possibly from Uruk, has a truncated inscription and hatched bands and wings. The same features occur in **239**, from Assur. **258** again has an inscription that does not run to the top of the seal. These three seals, together with **253**, supply us with another fundamental feature of the style: it is usually made in some artificial substance, often glass. First Kassite is nearly always in fine hard stone. This enables us to include Philadelphia 567 in our collection.

The character of the style is now well enough established to add some unprovenanced pieces from collections, which have a generally First Kassite appearance but are made of soft stone or some artificial composition: **231, 238, 240, 248, 249**, BM 123288, Guimet 94, IM 10991. An impression from Rimah (**247**) is also clearly a member, and so is **245**. These enable us to make some general stylistic observations. The term 'pseudo-Kassite' is exactly appropriate. The style is a coarse and strongly linear imitation of First Kassite, executed on imitation stone, and even the inscriptions appear to be there for show rather than sense. Although pseudo-Kassite is not entirely incapable of precise execution (e.g. **233, 241**) it is usually careless and sketchy.

With the difference between First Kassite and pseudo-Kassite thus established we can turn to attempting to distinguish pseudo-Kassite from Elamite. Porada's collection of 'pseudo-Kassite' seals, Choga Zanbil 1-14, certainly belong here because they are mostly made of glass. In other respects they are closer to First Kassite than some of the Babylonian pieces discussed above: most of the inscriptions run the whole height of the seal and there are no hatched bands. Indeed some (**229, 242, 246**) are virtually indistinguishable from First Kassite.¹⁴³ This often makes it difficult with seal-impressions, where the material of the seal is unknown, to decide what the style is.¹⁴⁴

Porada's second group, 'Elaborate Elamite' (Choga Zanbil 15-21) contains features such as the hatched bands and truncated inscriptions which we found in Babylonia, and should therefore be counted as pseudo-Kassite as well. For the first few cases (nos. 15-18) this presents no difficulties because the main subject, one or two humans of type 1107 or 1607, is the same as we have already encountered.¹⁴⁵ With **263** and **264**, however, we stray much further from First Kassite. This type, with panels separated by vertical strips and featuring a kneeling archer, is found also in Iran and in collections.¹⁴⁶ There can hardly be any doubt of the relation of this series to 'Elaborate Elamite', because of the 'Elaborate Elamite tree' which occurs on most of them as on **250** and Choga Zanbil 16. Neither this tree nor the kneeling archer certainly occurs in Babylonia.¹⁴⁷ It is therefore advisable to consider whether the series can be attached to Elamite instead.

¹³⁶ **272**, Philadelphia 559.

¹³⁷ **271, 272**, Philadelphia 559.

¹³⁸ **252, 271, 272, 273**, Philadelphia 551, Nippur I pl.120:2.

¹³⁹ Except **54**.

¹⁴⁰ e.g. **23, 127**.

¹⁴¹ **251, 252, 253, 267, 271**.

¹⁴² This seal has been discussed by Porada (1985). She does not mention the possible provenance from Warka, which I take from a general list of British Museum seals given to me by Dr. Collon; and in accordance with her general position that pseudo-Kassite seals are Elamite, locates it in the Susiana.

¹⁴³ Compare **101, 55, 14** respectively.

¹⁴⁴ This injects much uncertainty into both this section and the First Kassite analysis: **232, 234, 236, 243, 254, 255, 257**, Philadelphia 553, Susa 2069, 2070, 2073; probably mostly pseudo-Kassite.

¹⁴⁵ **249, 251, 252, 253**, Philadelphia 567, Choga Zanbil 3-6.

¹⁴⁶ **259-262, 265**, Susa 2084.

¹⁴⁷ **260** may come from Iraq; the tree may occur in **273**, from Nippur, and in the agate (and therefore First Kassite) seal **117**.

This indigenous Elamite style is typified by **546-549**, Choga Zanbil 57-87 and Susa 2055-2067. It has some obvious similarities with pseudo-Kassite, such as some of the filling symbols, the use of hatched bands, main scenes usually consisting of one or two humans, inscriptions often truncated, and the use of artificial materials. There are also some specific points in common, especially the Fan Scene.¹⁴⁸ A relation between 'Elaborate Elamite' and Elamite therefore need not be doubted. There are, however, differences.

There are three major human figures in pseudo-Kassite:

1107/1607	: e.g. 229 , 250 , Choga Zanbil 3-5, 16-17.
1111	: e.g. 229 , 242 , 246 .
4111	: e.g. 238 , 239 , 240 , Choga Zanbil 10.

Of these, 1111 represents two persons, a principal figure facing left, and a figure facing right who is attendant on the seated figure 4111. All this is in accordance with First Kassite, and all of these figures occur both in pseudo-Kassite and in 'Elaborate Elamite'.¹⁴⁹

The pseudo-Kassite and 'Elaborate Elamite' seals thus have much the same human figures, and, with the exception of the kneeling archer, it is evidently an impoverished version of the First Kassite repertory. This is not true of the main Elamite series. This has only two important figures, an 'attendant' who faces right and may carry a fan, and a figure facing left who holds a cup and usually sits but sometimes stands. These figures do not wear the long or flounced robes (types 1 and 6) which pseudo-Kassite shares with First Kassite, but rather the Elamite dress with a heavy fringe at the bottom (type 7). The cup held by the seated figure is oversize and usually tilted at an angle: this only occurs in pseudo-Kassite in **237**.¹⁵⁰ Most significantly, the standing attendant shows an inconsistency in his arm attitude which is the very antithesis of the rigid conformity of the Old Babylonian - First Kassite - pseudo-Kassite tradition.¹⁵¹ I do not believe that any significance is to be attached to this variation, whereas in First Kassite the arm attitude is the most important human attribute.¹⁵² Thus although pseudo-Kassite and 'Elaborate Elamite' differ in some details from First Kassite, their essential principles of composition are the same, while Elamite is constructed on a different basis.

As for the features which originally threw doubt on the assimilation of 'Elaborate Elamite' to pseudo-Kassite, the 'Elaborate Elamite tree' and the kneeling archer, these appear in standard Elamite no more than they do in First Kassite. A kneeling archer does occur in some seals from Choga Zanbil which have little relation to pseudo-Kassite (Choga Zanbil 33-36); these are, however, probably later as they surely derive from Middle Assyrian designs such as **413** and **419**.¹⁵³

This conclusion, that 'Elaborate Elamite' is a special kind of pseudo-Kassite, and that both are closer to First Kassite than they are to standard Elamite, is confirmed by geography. 'Elaborate Elamite' and pseudo-Kassite occur at Failaka, Choga Zanbil, Susa, Subeidi and in Mesopotamia; standard Elamite is not found either at Subeidi, at Failaka or in Mesopotamia. The term 'pseudo-Kassite' may thus be used, as in this book, to cover 'Elaborate Elamite' as well.

The designs in horizontal rows are much less easy to assign. We have already noted their prominence at Nippur. There are also cases from Subeidi, Isin and Failaka and many from Choga Zanbil, but relatively few from Susa.¹⁵⁴ The difficulty is that, unlike 'Elaborate Elamite', there is no specific similarity between these designs and a Kassite prototype: indeed the animals often look more like the filling elements in the Elamite banqueting scenes. I am thus unable to decide whether these seals should be counted as pseudo-Kassite or Elamite.

The small group **269**, **270**, BM 89490 and Porada 1970, figures annexes 7 and 18 may, however, be an exception. **269**, **270** and Porada 1970, figures annexes 7 show animals in rows separated by small twisted trees of a distinctive kind, as in **233** and **266**. Porada (1970, 10) compares the animals to another pseudo-Kassite seal (**242**). This is particularly valuable in locating the unusual chariot scene **270** in the pseudo-Kassite style (Porada

¹⁴⁸ In pseudo-Kassite: **240**, Choga Zanbil 10; in 'Elaborate Elamite': **239**; in Elamite: **544-547**, Susa 2060, 2062, 2063, 2066, 2067, Choga Zanbil 76.

¹⁴⁹ It is noticeable that the figure 1103, a major First Kassite figure, does not occur in pseudo-Kassite, except in the unusually complicated and well-executed seals **233** and **241**. The 'interceding' figures, 1102 and 1602, which are also prominent in First Kassite, are likewise missing here, except in atypical cases such as **231**.

¹⁵⁰ Contrast **239**, **240**.

¹⁵¹ Contrast e.g. **548**, Choga Zanbil 57, 64 which resemble arm type 3, with Choga Zanbil 66, which is like type 2, or the traditional Elamite arm posture in **549**.

¹⁵² See the First Kassite analysis.

¹⁵³ Cf. Williams-Forte 1981, 358 no. 40 (Surkh Dum). The 'Elaborate Elamite' archer kneels on both knees, like the First Kassite kneeling man (**28** etc.), while the later Elamite archer kneels on one knee in the Assyrian manner.

¹⁵⁴ **269-276**, Philadelphia 559, Subeidi 43, Isin I no. 39, Failaka 409, 410, Choga Zanbil 89-105, Susa 2085.

1970, 7). Moortgat (1940, 58-9), van Buren (1954a, 8, 32) and Beran (1957-8, 278) made a less convincing comparison with Mitannian.¹⁵⁵

3.5.1 Chronology.

There is no sound evidence for the date of the pseudo-Kassite style. Choga Zanbil was founded early in the thirteenth century, and there is a case from Rimah which is dated to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.¹⁵⁶ Level II at Subeidi ends at c. 1225 BC, and contains Subeidi 30 and 42 which are certainly pseudo-Kassite; 244 could possibly be First Kassite. Thus pseudo-Kassite need not originate earlier than about 1250 BC, but I am inclined to guess at a transition from First Kassite at the beginning of the century.¹⁵⁷ The pseudo-Kassite style began later than Second Kassite and may therefore have continued later as well into the twelfth century, a time of extensive, if not very friendly, contact with Elam. There seems to be no reason to suppose that it overlapped with Third Kassite, with which it has little in common.

3.5.2 Summary.

At the risk of some repetition it may be useful to give a brief summary of the style, as identified by the criteria discussed above. This is advisable because most of the material (Choga Zanbil, Susa, Subeidi, Failaka) has only been published within the last twenty years and thus remains somewhat undigested, in particular the importance of the style in Babylonia.¹⁵⁸

The seals fall stylistically into three groups. The first is so close to First Kassite that it is often difficult to distinguish them in impressions. On the view given here, that one style developed into the other, it is not surprising that there are transitional seals. The most convenient arbitrary division is given by the change in material, since this inevitably involves some stylistic change. But it is only with the more elaborate pieces that we can really claim to have left First Kassite. The second is an elaboration of the first, with hatched bands, the kneeling archer, and the 'Elaborate Elamite tree'. Finally there is the group with horizontal bands of animals, many of which may not be really pseudo-Kassite.

The strongly Kassitising group is a pale imitation of First Kassite. While First Kassite, as demonstrated below, is a strongly structured style with a precise logic of its own, it is my intuitive impression that pseudo-Kassite is an unimaginatively imitative style. In other words the scenes are not constructed according to some system of artistic doctrine, but are simply copied unreflectively from each other.¹⁵⁹ I agree with Porada (1970, 129) that the elaborated designs are probably an attempt to rectify the inadequacy of this approach: having lost the 'esoteric meaning' (as van Buren 1954a calls it) of the Kassite designs they took refuge in ornament.

There are two major series involving single humans. The figure 1111, facing left, is not found in the elaborated style and as it is common in First Kassite is particularly liable to confusion.¹⁶⁰ The figure 1107, facing right, is usually more obviously pseudo-Kassite.¹⁶¹ It is often duplicated.¹⁶² In a few cases humans face each other, usually in the form 1107-1111.¹⁶³ These scenes are usually close to First Kassite.¹⁶⁴ 231 and 241 show other combinations. The scene 1111-4111, sometimes assimilated to the Fan Scene, appears occasionally,¹⁶⁵ often in an elaborated form.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁵ There is a Kassite-Mitannian interface involving rows of animals (Boehmer 1981, 73) which may have some Elamite connections, but the seals in question (227, 228, Nuzi 702, etc.) do not have the distinctive tree of the pseudo-Kassite series and have a different style of engraving. Beran was evidently uneasy about it as he assigned 270 to the Third Kassite style, on account of the (unrelated) chariot seal 199.

¹⁵⁶ 247: Saporetti 1979, 115 (TR 2028).

¹⁵⁷ Porada (1970, 127-9) dates chapelle IV at Choga Zanbil to the thirteenth century. This is the major source of all the groups discussed: pseudo-Kassite, 'Elaborate Elamite', standard Elamite banqueting scenes, and seals with rows of animals.

¹⁵⁸ e.g. Amiet (1986) correctly poses the question 'Kassites ou Elamites?' but does not come to a firm conclusion. The three pseudo-Kassite seals published in this article, IM 10991-3, are unprovenanced, but as he says their presence in the Iraq Museum may well indicate a Babylonian origin.

¹⁵⁹ This may require some qualification, but is supported by the often meaningless 'pseudo-inscriptions': cf. Reiner 1970, 133.

¹⁶⁰ Babylonia: 243; Elam: 242, 246, Susa 2069?, 2073; elsewhere: 244, 245, 247, Failaka 401; collections: 248, BM 123288, Guimet 94.

¹⁶¹ Babylonia: 249, 251, 252, 253; Elam: 250, Choga Zanbil 3, 6, 12, 16-17; collection: Collon 1987, no. 292.

¹⁶² Babylonia: 232, 255-258, Philadelphia 567; Elam: 254, Choga Zanbil 4, 5, 18; elsewhere: Failaka 398, 400, 418, Iraq 39-34?

¹⁶³ This is a Northern scene in the First Kassite analysis: but note that the single figure 1111 was Central.

¹⁶⁴ Elam: 229, 233; elsewhere: 235, Failaka 398, 399, 402?; collections: 230, cf. 227.

¹⁶⁵ Babylonia: 240?; Elam: 236, 237, Choga Zanbil 9, 10; elsewhere: 239; collections: 238; cf. 225, 226.

¹⁶⁶ This scene belongs to the Central tradition in First Kassite, but the other main elaborated scene in pseudo-Kassite, 1107 on its own, is Northern in First Kassite. One cannot thus derive pseudo-Kassite unambiguously from either of the two groups identified in the First Kassite analysis, though it is suggested above (p. 51) that Northern is the main precursor.

The other main elaborated group has small panels including the kneeling archer and other motives.¹⁶⁷ Other seals of this style not directly related to Kassite models show monsters of a distinctive form with two rather fly-like wings,¹⁶⁸ or boats,¹⁶⁹ and there are some uncertain or unclear cases.¹⁷⁰

A small number of designs with animals in rows are surely pseudo-Kassite,¹⁷¹ but I am unable to classify most of them.¹⁷²

3.6 An analysis of the First Kassite style.

3.6.1 Introduction.

The chronological discussion above (p. 57f) found that the evidence for the First Kassite style is nearly confined to the fourteenth century, and indeed except for the Nuzi impressions to the later part of that century. The geographical evidence is not much better. There are no First Kassite seals from Ur¹⁷³ and most of the other Babylonian sites are equally disappointing¹⁷⁴ - indeed there are almost as many from outside Babylonia,¹⁷⁵ and the Common Mitannian, pseudo-Kassite and coarse Third Kassite styles are better represented in Babylonia. In fact there are no significant sources of actual seals and only two important collections of impressions, from Nuzi and Nippur.¹⁷⁶ In addition the corpus of seals bearing royal names provides a useful basis for analysis. This group belongs to the Central tradition, both because this is intrinsically most likely from the social status of the owners,¹⁷⁷ and because, as will be shown, it has more in common with the Nippur designs than with the Nuzi ones.

The following analysis proposes a division of the First Kassite style into two traditions, Central and Northern, corresponding to Nuzi and Nippur respectively. In my opinion Northern is a simplified provincial variant, analogous in some respects to pseudo-Kassite, but as Nuzi and Nippur are also divided chronologically it remains possible that Northern is an earlier stage. But as the site of Nuzi did not survive into the late fourteenth century, and nearly all of the Nippur impressions are on undatable bullae, there is no reason why both traditions should not have coexisted throughout the fourteenth century.

The group of seals bearing royal names, listed in the chronological discussion, tend to have rather impoverished designs.¹⁷⁸ The humans which do occur are of types 1102 (1), 1103 (7, 11), 1111, facing both left (58, 60, 63) and right (33, 66), 1407 (1), 1602 (1), and a seated figure (28, 33, 38, 45). This list is fairly comprehensive, but the types which occur more than once (1103, 1111 R, 4111) are all more common at Nippur than at Nuzi, except the figure 1111 when facing left. However in the royal series this figure is always alone, while at Nuzi it is always combined with a second figure.

3.6.2 Humans.

The number of figures recognised by the First Kassite style is restricted. There are three postures,¹⁷⁹ four

¹⁶⁷ Babylonia: 260?; Elam: 259, 263, 264, 265, Susa 2084; elsewhere: 261; collections: 262. Drouot 1981, no. 57 looks genuine enough.

¹⁶⁸ Babylonia: 267; Elam: 266; elsewhere: Subeidi 45.

¹⁶⁹ 268, Choga Zanbil 127, Failaka 422, Louvre S466.

¹⁷⁰ 273, Philadelphia 550, 551, Nippur I pl.120:2, Choga Zanbil 14, UEX 574, Iraq 11-155, Failaka 405.

¹⁷¹ 269, 270, Porada 1970, figures annexes 7, 18, BM 89490.

¹⁷² 271, 272, 274, 275, 276, Philadelphia 559, Susa 2085, Choga Zanbil 89-105.

¹⁷³ 190 may be an exception, but the soft material and unusual dress are more Second Kassite.

¹⁷⁴ e.g. Babylon: 193; Isin: 12.

¹⁷⁵ Failaka 397, Nimrud (ND 1681, 80), Luristan (41, also perhaps the unpublished seal from Surkh Dum, Brinkman 1976, 231: Q.2.110), Megiddo (82), Cyprus (54), Hama (50).

¹⁷⁶ The great problem with impressions is distinguishing between First Kassite and pseudo-Kassite. None of the Nuzi impressions is pseudo-Kassite, but many of the Nippur ones and all of those from Susa are doubtful, as also 243 (Ur), 14 Glyptik 103, 104 (Assur) and 225, 235, 244 (Subeidi). Since none of these sites except Nippur has yielded actual First Kassite seals, I count the doubtful cases as pseudo-Kassite except at Nippur, though pseudo-Kassite certainly existed there as well. Access to the original material would doubtless solve the problem for at least some of them. See 229, 242, 246, Choga Zanbil 5, 6 for actual seals of the kind that cause the confusion.

¹⁷⁷ See the discussion in the chronological section, p. 57-8.

¹⁷⁸ 68, 69, Newell 665 have no human figures at all.

¹⁷⁹ Standing, kneeling and sitting: there are exceptions in 78, 113 and Hama fig. 193, which have one leg advanced; but these are very unusual in other respects: 113 and Hama fig. 193 have the only figures in flounced dresses with an advanced leg in any style; Hama fig. 193 has a strange inscription and an un-Kassite lion; 113 has the only dog with a raised foreleg known to me; 78 is the only case of any style with a man resting his foot on a bird, except conceivably Philadelphia 550.

¹⁸⁰ Long, open, flounced and nude: types 1, 4, 6, 9.

dresses,¹⁸⁰ and five arm attitudes.¹⁸¹ The Kassite Open dress does not have a drape after the Syrian fashion, except for two impressions from northern Mesopotamia¹⁸² and possibly a half-drape on 88.¹⁸³ The only short dress that needs to be discussed is the 'Naram-Sin costume'.¹⁸⁴ Of course it is always difficult to draw lines across a continuum, but in my opinion this dress is a convenient criterion for distinguishing Old Babylonian from Kassite, as there are no unquestionably Kassite instances.¹⁸⁵ It appears that the Open dress is to some extent the Kassite equivalent, as both combine with the same arm attitude (7) and are both often found with 'interceding' figures. The meaning may have some 'heroic' connotation - especially as this is the only place where tassels, as in the Assyrian 'hero', appear (e.g. 1, 3, 78). Partially nude figures, as in Old Syrian glyptic,¹⁸⁶ do not occur in Kassite or usually in Late Bronze Age seals as a whole.¹⁸⁷

The flounced dress is enigmatic. It may be worn by standing figures with arms 2 or 7, but only exceptionally with arms 3 (110, 118) or 11.¹⁸⁸ The seated figure in a flounced dress always has arms 11, like seated figures generally,¹⁸⁹ but is still too rare to treat as a standard figure (21, 27, 45).

The nude female is the only figure with out-turned feet, or with arms 10¹⁹⁰. She is always less tall than the major figures accompanying her. The kneeling man may kneel on one knee or both, and each posture combines with both arms 3 and 11. He is likewise best treated as a filler because although this is sometimes uncertain¹⁹¹ he is often unquestionably secondary (28 etc.) and even in the doubtful cases the posture makes him seem smaller than a seated or standing figure. He can appear alone (67).

Seated figures always have a long dress and arms 11,¹⁹² and always face left. The only nude figures are as above, so no primary figures are nude.¹⁹³ Arms of type 3 and 7 always face right,¹⁹⁴ and so does the Open dress, but the Open dress only combines with the latter.¹⁹⁵ Given these restrictions the major figures may then be tabulated:

<i>Human</i>	<i>Orientation</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Nuzi</i>	<i>Nippur</i>
1102	L	Common	72, 91, 92	94?
	R	Rare (see below)	116	None
1103	R	Common	72, 123	19, 20, 21?, 232, Gibson 1978, fig. 92(1)?
1107	R	Common	81, 91, 92, 104, 105, 106, Nuzi 690, 697	255?
1111	L	Common	83, 95, 98, 99, 104, 105, 106, 123, Nuzi 690, 698, 701	234
	R	Some (see below)	None	30, 32
1407	R	Common	77, 98, 99	234, 257
1602	L	Common	Nuzi 680	111, Gibson 1978, fig. 92(2)?
	R	Rare (see below)	None	47, 48
1607	R	Some (see below)	95	232, 234, 255, Gibson 1978, fig. 92(2)
4111	L	Common	116	19, 20, 30, 32, 40, 47, 48, 128, Philadelphia 553, Gibson 1978, fig. 92(1), BE XIV pl.14:46-47

¹⁸¹ Types 2, 3, 7, 10, 11.

¹⁸² 99, Iraq 39-34 (Rimah), the latter probably not Kassite.

¹⁸³ 53 has a dress which I am unable to classify, and so does 23.

¹⁸⁴ See Collon 1986a, 102.

¹⁸⁵ Contrast Frankfort 1939, 180 s.v. Newell 224.

¹⁸⁶ e.g. CANES 937-942, 945, 946.

¹⁸⁷ Though cf. 537.

¹⁸⁸ 56, 57, 119; 126, with arms 10, is unique.

¹⁸⁹ Except 125.

¹⁹⁰ Except 3, 118, 126.

¹⁹¹ 125, Marcopoli 135.

¹⁹² Exceptions as above.

¹⁹³ I assume that seated figures are never nude (in the absence of examples such as CANES 1038), as likewise kneelers on both knees; but I assume that kneelers on one knee are always nude.

¹⁹⁴ Except 121 and the sub-Kassite seal 124.

¹⁹⁵ Except BM 89223.

Rare: 1102, R : 1, 114-117.
 1111, R : 30, 31, 33, 64, 65, 66, 120.
 1602, R : 1, 47, 48, 112.
 1607, R : 95, 110, 227, 230, 232, 234, 255, Ash 561, Gibson 1978, fig. 92(2).

3.6.3 Humans in combination.

One can distinguish between the principal and secondary figures in a scene from their scale. There are then between three and no main figures in a First Kassite scene. The nude female never occurs alone and is always at a smaller scale so may be counted as a filler, and the same holds good for kneeling figures (see above, p. 71). By contrast, it is extremely rare for other standing figures, and unknown for seated ones, to be at a reduced scale (e.g. 118). The number of significant main figures is not then very large:

1102, 1602	-‘interceding’ figures, dress plain and flounced;
1103	-figure in the attitude of ‘Hammurabi’;
1107, 1407, 1607	-figures in the ‘Naram-Sin’ posture, various dresses;
1111, 4111	-figures extending one arm, standing or seated.

The differences may be due to intrinsic variation between the figures, or to their context. ‘Context’ ultimately means everything in proximity to the figure or to the seal, but for the present I wish to analyse the principal figures with respect to each other, and it seems most probable that they are affecting each other if they are facing each other (if they are facing the same way there could be an effect from an implied further figure which is not depicted). Moreover if there are more than two figures present then it is difficult to know which is affecting which. The internal context may thus be restricted to scenes with two figures facing each other, and the term ‘two-figure scenes’ will be used to refer to these and not to scenes with two figures facing the same way.¹⁹⁶ Given the restrictions on orientation the choices for the main figures on each side are then:

1602, 1103, 1107, 1407, 1607, 1111 – 1102, 1602, 1111, 4111

or 24 possible scenes. 1607 usually combines with 1111,¹⁹⁷ and these cases are of Northern appearance¹⁹⁸ except 95, which is from the north. The other figures that combine with 1111 more than once, when 1111 is on the right, are 1107 and 1407. There are eight cases of 1107, 1407 or 1607 with 1111 from Nuzi¹⁹⁹ and none from Nippur. One may thus propose that a standing figure, arms 7, dress variable, when combined with 1111, represents a Northern tradition.

The combination of arms 7 with arms 2 occurs both in Kassite and in Mitannian seals, and it is necessary to review the whole question as nothing is so informative on the relationship between Northern Kassite and Kirkuk Mitannian. Arms 7 is on the left in these designs, and arms 2 on the right. The dress on the left is of type 1 or 4, and on the right of type 1 or 6. There are thus four possible scenes of this kind.

In *First Kassite*, the scenes

1107-1102	89, 90, 91, 92
1407-1102	1, BM 102420
1407-1602	1, 3

occur more than once, while 1107-1602 only appears in 109. None of them occurs at Nippur, where Gibson 1978, fig. 92 (2) should be reconstructed as 1607-1602, a combination otherwise unknown, but the first evidently belongs to the Northern tradition, while in Central the example of 1²⁰⁰ shows that both scenes with the figure 1407 are possible.

In *Kirkuk Mitannian* the most common scene is 1407-1602,²⁰¹ though 1407-1102 is not impossible.²⁰² The figure 1107 is rare and only seems to combine with arms 2 in recut seals.²⁰³

In *Common Mitannian*, of the elaborate type favoured at Nuzi, the standard scene is 1407-1102²⁰⁴ but there are a few cases of 1407-1602.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁶ This scene, it should be noted, is not necessarily evenly distributed, and in fact is not.

¹⁹⁷ Except Gibson 1978, fig. 92(2).

¹⁹⁸ 227, 230, Ash 561.

¹⁹⁹ 95, 98, 99, 104, 105, 228, Nuzi 690, 701.

²⁰⁰ Which should be counted as Central because of the name of Kara-indash.

²⁰¹ e.g. 615, 619, Nuzi 741, HSS XIV 273.

²⁰² e.g. Gorelick 32.

²⁰³ 599, Gulbenkian 57. Cf above, p. 48.

²⁰⁴ e.g. Nuzi 414, 417, 436, 499, 501, 502, 521, 522, Iraq 11-86, Iraq 37-32.

²⁰⁵ e.g. 612, 613. Note both 1102 and 1602 in Nuzi 498.

We thus find that the Mitannian combinations correspond more closely to the Central tradition of Babylonia than to the Northern Kassite tradition of Nuzi. In other words there is no gradual change between southern and northern Mesopotamia, but rather a style on the frontier which is opposed to both. This suggests that the Northern tradition should not be regarded as a transitional form between Mitannian and Kassite, but as an autonomous sub-style in its own right, conscious of, and opposed to, both Mitannian and Central Kassite.

Therefore, though the Northern tradition has been identified on the northern border of the Kassite region, it should not be regarded as being only, or even mainly, located there. Its strong showing at Nuzi is explained by the enormous number of impressions found there: relative to the Mitannian style it is rare there indeed. The heartland of the style may well have been in Babylonia proper. What this might mean in ethnic or political terms I would not care to speculate: the names of the owners at Nuzi given by Porada seem no different from usual. A further argument for the autonomy of the Northern tradition is that though most of its exemplars are of rather low quality²⁰⁶ some show the best Kassite cutting.²⁰⁷

The figure 1602 does not occur in the Kassite impressions from Nuzi, except in Nuzi 680, which may be Old Babylonian (Porada 1947, 54), while the figure 1107 only occurs at Nippur in doubtful or possibly pseudo-Kassite seals.²⁰⁸ 109, which combines these two figures, is thus something of a puzzle. I suggest that this seal is an ignorant transitional piece between Kassite and Mitannian in the sense that the Northern tradition is not.

The other combinations from Nuzi are 1103-1111 (123), 1102-4111 (116) and 1103-1102 (72). The first two are unique (except possibly de Clercq 265) and may be counted as aberrant. The last, however, also occurs in 71 and Jitta 1952, no. 109 (Hague), so this small group may be taken as a last Northern combination.

So far we have concentrated almost exclusively on the Northern tradition. The remaining two-figure combinations have a seated figure, 4111, in association with 1602, 1103 or 1111. None of these scenes occur at Nuzi²⁰⁹ and they are all found at Nippur,²¹⁰ so it seems quite safe to assign them to the Central group. There is no discussion of figure combinations in the royal group here because it does not include any designs of this kind.²¹¹ The figure combinations may then be summarised:

Northern : 1103-1102, 1107-1102, 1107-1111, 1407-1111, 1607-1111.
(all found at Nuzi, none found at Nippur).

Central : 1103-4111, 1111-4111, 1602-4111, 1607-1602, 1407-1602, 1407-1102.
(none found at Nuzi, the first four found at Nippur).

	<i>Northern</i>	<i>Central</i>
various dress	standing, arms 7	standing, arms 2
various partners	1107, 1102	1407, 1602, 4111
1107	yes	no
1602; seated	no	yes
1103	with 1102	with 4111
1102	with 1103, 1107	with 1407
1111	on right	on left
1407; 1607?	with 1111	with 1102, 1602

²⁰⁶ As e.g. 96, 101, Ash 561, Philadelphia 566.

²⁰⁷ 95, 97: note that Porada used this quality as an argument to demonstrate the similarity of this piece to the main tradition (1947, 55) while I have used it otherwise - the two arguments are not incompatible. For Kassites at Nuzi see Dosch and Deller 1981.

²⁰⁸ 255, 256, Nippur I pl.121:3.

²⁰⁹ 116 has 1102, not 1602.

²¹⁰ 1111-4111: 30, 32; 1103-4111: 19, 20; 1602-4111: 47, 48.

²¹¹ 33 is a three-figure scene, though the presence of the seated man should attach it to the Central group; the same applies for 28, where the other human is a small kneeling man of the type treated here as a filling symbol. In 122 the two humans are musicians which have no parallels, while in 9 they are both of the same kind and face the same way. The Surkh Dum seal Sor. 1428 is said to show a 'seated kingly figure' in Dyson and Harris 1986, 103 no. 214.

3.6.4 Symbols.

The Nuzi impressions are somewhat impoverished with respect to symbols. We may observe a vessel in the field (72, 99)²¹² and:

Vessel in hand	: 106, 116, Nuzi 698
Nude female	: 104
Fly	: 77
Bird	: 77, 99, Nuzi 707
Horizontal Animal	: 72, 77, 99, 106
Rampant Animal	: 81
Monkey	: 99, 106, Nuzi 701

At Nippur, on the other hand, we have:

Cross	: 19, 40?, 48, Philadelphia 564, Gibson 1978, fig. 92(1)
Rhomb	: 19, 20, 40, 232, 255, 257, Gibson 1978, fig. 92(1)
Locust	: 20, 21, 47
Rosette	: 20, 30, 32, 128, 234, 256
Insect	: 234, cf. Gibson 1978, fig. 92(2)?
Vessel in hand	: 30, 32, 40, 128
Nude female	: 94, 111
Fly	: Gibson 1978, fig. 92(1)
Rampant Animal	: 32
Dog	: 40

The seals with royal names have the following symbols:

Cross	: 7, 28, 66, 69, 122
Rhomb	: 28, 33, 66, 122
Locust	: 38, 45, 66
Rosette	: 28
Insect	: 68
Kneeling man	: 28
Fly	: 28, 122
Horizontal Animal	: 122
Rampant Animal	: 7
Dog	: 28
Monkey	: 122

There may also be a vessel in the field.²¹³

At first glance it appears that the seals with royal names have much in common with both Nuzi and Nippur, but on further inspection they conform much more closely to the latter. Of the fifteen symbols under discussion there are four (rampant animal, nude female, fly, vessel in hand) which occur both at Nuzi and Nippur, and one (kneeling man) which is not found at either. Six occur only at Nippur (cross, rosette, rhomb, locust, insect and dog), and four only at Nuzi (horizontal animal, monkey, vessel in field and bird). All six of the Nippur symbols occur in the royal series, but the Nuzi symbols bird and possibly vessel in the field do not. More significantly, of the four symbols which occur more than once in the royal group, three (cross, rhomb and locust) are Nippur symbols. In addition, of the six instances where a Nuzi symbol occurs on a royal seal (two flies, two possible vessels in the field, a monkey and a horizontal animal), no less than four are supplied by 122. The design of this seal with its musicians is so unusual that it is best left unclassified between the Central and Northern groups.

If the seals with royal names are then assigned to the Central tradition, the kneeling man becomes another Central symbol. There is one other symbol, the ear of corn, which should be mentioned, although it does not occur in any of the three groups of seals at present under discussion. We thus obtain sixteen symbols:

²¹² Associated with the ballstaff, this is an Old Babylonian convention: Collon 1986a, 49. What looks like a goatfish in 81, the guilloche of Nuzi 692 and 104, and the fish of 104 had little circulation elsewhere in the style. This is also true of the ballstaff, whose only other First Kassite occurrence is in 35 where its appearance is so unusual, with a loop instead of the 'ball', that it may mean something else (cf. Ward (1910, 189) thought it might be a winged disk!). The ballstaff was inherited more by Mitannian seals (e.g. 578, 579, 615, Nuzi 88, 96, 709, 805, 907, CANES 1020, 1021, 1028, 1034, 1042) and the Kassite examples may have borrowed it from them rather than from Old Babylonian.

²¹³ 33 has a spiky object which recurs in 36, 55, 96, 241, and perhaps 34: it is unclear whether it is a vase or perhaps an insect or even a fish. 122 has an object described by Beran (1957-8, 264), Boehmer (1981, 71-2 (235)) and van Buren (1954a, 17) as a dagger. Seidl however makes an interesting comparison with an unusual kudurru (Seidl 1968, 207, no. 40) and suggests that the object may be a peg like one on the end of a cord for leading an animal on the kudurru.

Central tradition	: cross, rhomb, locust, insect, dog, kneeling man, rosette
Northern tradition	: horizontal animal, monkey, vessel in field, bird
Unassigned	: rampant animal, vessel in hand, fly, corn ear, nude female

3.6.5 Humans and symbols together.

Two largely independent analyses have been carried out. The human figures have been shown to combine according to two different sets of rules, which correspond to the difference between Nuzi and Nippur and have therefore been explained by the suggestion of Northern and Central traditions. The symbols have also been divided into a Central and a Northern group, with some uncertain pieces. Of the sixteen symbols, the insect is not further considered, as its only other occurrence is in BM 129099. A sample of 56 seals may be assembled on the basis that there must be an inscription rising the full height of the seal in vertical columns, and a scene with two humans of full size facing each other.²¹⁴ Of these human scenes, 17 are of Central type, 23 are Northern and 14 are uncertain or aberrant. In the tabulation below the entries refer to the occurrence of scene types against symbol types.²¹⁵

Scenes and symbols in two-figure seals

Scenes	Symbols			
	Central	Uncertain	Northern	None
Central	19	9	4	2
Uncertain	9	10	7	1
Northern	5	6	16	8

The Central and Northern scene, and symbol types correspond very well, but the nine cases where unexpected results arise should be investigated. The seals with Central scenes and Northern symbols are 23, 24, and 31. 24 shows the 'carion-birds' motif, which is also known in 27 and the pseudo-Kassite seals 152, 241 and 275. Boehmer (1981, 73-4) and Porada (1972, 174-5) have shown that this has Iranian connections, though it is not known at Susa or at Choga Zanbil.²¹⁶ The bird on 23 is similar. These birds show just the difference of a firmer outline and no cross-hatching that we should expect from the general distinction between First Kassite and pseudo-Kassite; but may otherwise be readily compared to e.g. 152 or 241. Given my opinion of the date and distribution of the pseudo-Kassite style (see above, p. 66f), I therefore place these seals fairly late in First Kassite and see in them the earliest moves towards pseudo-Kassite. A third seal with the same scene as 23 and 24 is 22, and the unity of these three seals is shown by the vessel held by the seated figure in each case and by the curious arm posture of the standing figures, which I understand as a variant of type 3. One may also notice the delineation of the standing figures' heads, which Porada interprets as feminine.²¹⁷ Gibson 1978, fig. 92(1) is a case from Nippur. The presence of at least one fly is significant as this symbol also occurs in 27, and in 122 which had an Elamite owner. The monsters beneath the seated figure in 22 may be related to such Elamite seals as Susa 2022.²¹⁸ This group should be contrasted to the more classic series, such as 17 and 19, which lack the cup and the unusual features.

127 shows the same bird, probably above a Central seated figure, but most birds on Kassite seals have a Mitannian appearance²¹⁹ and are correctly assigned to the Northern tradition. 31 is awkward in two respects. The shapes at the top seem to represent more birds,²²⁰ and there is also a vessel in the field (though also one held in the hand).

The seals with Northern scenes and Central symbols are 96, 97, 107 and Ash 561. 107 has a cross, and 97 apparently has a locust. Ash 561 has a kneeling man, but it may be that the form kneeling on one knee, which occurs on Mitannian seals such as 455, is not a specifically Central symbol in the way that the man on both

²¹⁴ At this point we abandon the provisional definition of Northern and Central as Nuzi and Nippur, so that it will become possible for there to be strays. 94 is a Nippur impression which will be assigned below to Northern.

²¹⁵ Thus a seal with a Central scene where the symbols are two rhombs and one monkey, would be counted once towards the total of (Central scene × Central symbol) and once towards (Central scene × Northern symbol). If they are two rhombs and a cross the total of (Central scene × Central symbol) would be increased by two. Because the contribution of each seal thus depends on the number of symbols on it the table is not suitable for the application of simple statistics. 'None' in the table means that none of the symbols listed above is present; but there may be others. The table is intended to give an estimate of the relative proportions and is not presented as part of an explicit statistical argument. The discussion is meant to produce a set of distinctions which are strongly patterned as a way of understanding the seals; but the statistical significance of this pattern is not assessed and it is probable that an even more strongly patterned description might be found. Cf. the Introduction, p. 12-13.

²¹⁶ See also the Nimrud ivory, Safar and al-Iraqi 1987, 83 fig. 69.

²¹⁷ 1948a, 64-5 s.v. 575; seconded by Beran 1957-8, 262.

²¹⁸ Or be derived from Old Babylonian, e.g. BM III 96, 378.

²¹⁹ e.g. 89, 99, 103, 107, 118.

²²⁰ Van Buren (1954a, 6) sees a small feline confronting a large bird, and apparently also a locust (1954a, 36). The photograph does not look clear enough to me to decide.

knees of **28** is. **96** has a rosette and two rhombs. Unlike the other Central symbols these are common in Mitannian seals, though not in the Kassite impressions from Nuzi, so they may have strayed onto **96** from the north rather than from the south.

So of the nine discrepant instances, on seven seals, five can be explained away at least to some extent, two are unclear, and only two remain obdurate.²²¹ As 33 instances on 23 seals do conform to the hypothesis, I think that the distinction between Central and Northern in both scenes and symbols is sufficiently well established to justify further explorations. The first task is to assign some of the items in the 'uncertain' columns. Of the 14 seals in this category, five²²² have at least one Central symbol and no Northern ones. **2** can then be restored as a regular scene of type 1407-1102 or 1407-1602. **125** has the unique figure 4602²²³ while **121** has arms of type 3 facing left.²²⁴ The other two have normal figures in unique combinations. These seals should therefore be counted as sub-Kassite with some relationship to the Central tradition. **118** and BM 89223 have Northern and unassigned symbols, and thus belong to the corresponding category in the Northern tradition.²²⁵

Two of the unassigned symbols show a fairly strong preference. There are six Central scenes with a vessel held in the hand, one Northern one, and two uncertain cases.²²⁶ There is thus a presumption that the Central tradition is likely to place a vessel in a figure's hand, while Northern locates it in the field.

Of the nude females, four are in Northern scenes,²²⁷ to which can be added BM 89223²²⁸ and the sub-Kassite designs **228** and **230**, which have Northern figure combinations despite lacking the standard form of inscription. Evidence for the nude female in Central is only supplied by **121**²²⁹ and two cases from Nippur, **111**²³⁰ and **94** which, if restored as a two-figure scene with a human in a dress of type 1 facing the figure 1102, must be Northern,²³¹ as in Central the figure on the left would have to have a dress of type 4, as in 1.

The fly occurs in **102**, **109**, **122** and Gibson 1978, fig. 92(1). **102** shows that it is a Northern symbol, and as such it may have strayed onto **109**.²³² The other two, however, indicate that it could occur in Central scenes under eastern influence (cf. above, p. 75). It is a very common pseudo-Kassite and Elamite symbol.²³³

The rampant animal occurs in the Central scene **32** and the aberrant seal **119**, which should also be Central because of the vessel in the hand. This assignment is, however, weak, because of the animal in **81**.

Finally the only case of the corn ear in a two-figure scene is the unique seal **126**; but this may be Central on account of the seated man.

To summarise this analysis of two-figure scenes, the cross, rhomb, locust, rosette, dog and kneeling man (on both knees) are certainly Central, and the rampant animal, vessel in the hand and corn ear may be as well. The horizontal animal, monkey, vessel in the field, nude female and bird (of Mitannian form) are certainly Northern, and so may be the fly. Of the 14 uncertain seals, **116**, **121**, **122**, and **123** remain unassigned, while **2**, **112**, **119**, **125**, **126** and de Clercq 265 are probably Central, and **94**, **109**, **118** and BM 89223 are probably Northern. The table given above may now be modified to give:

Scenes	Symbols		
	Central	Northern	None
Central	35	4	2
Uncertain	4	5	1
Northern	6	29	8

3.6.6 Scenes with single figures.

The 56 seals with two-figure scenes, which were the focus of the above discussion, are not exactly representative of the whole First Kassite field. Of the remainder (about ninety), many show only a single figure, seated or standing, with or without symbols. These may be divided into four major series, with few exceptions. By far the largest is the scene with a figure standing with arms of type 11, facing left, sometimes with

²²¹ The cross in **107**, and the vessel in the field in **31**.

²²² **2**, **112**, **121**, **125**, de Clercq 265.

²²³ Though it is known on kudurrus e.g. Seidl 1968, no. 23.

²²⁴ Otherwise only **124**.

²²⁵ **118** has the very unusual figures 1110 and 1603, while BM 89223 is the only Kassite case of the figure 1411.

²²⁶ Central: **22**, **23**, **24**, **30**, **31**, **32**; Northern: **106**; uncertain: **116**, **119**.

²²⁷ **71**, **89**, **104**, Jitta 1952, no. 109 (Hague).

²²⁸ As its other symbols, the vase in the field and the horizontal animal, are both Northern.

²²⁹ Which has a rosette, but the scene is aberrant.

²³⁰ As the figure 1602 should be Central - unless it is an Old Babylonian survival, cf. BM III 613?

²³¹ Either 1103-1102 or 1107-1102, as e.g. **72** or **92**.

²³² It only occurs in unclear forms in Mitannian, e.g. Damascus 40, Byblos 6457, RS 25.183, Collon BAR 99, which could be otherwise interpreted.

²³³ e.g. **237**, **548**, **549**.

symbols. The dress is always long or bordered (type 1), except for two flounced cases.²³⁴ In **65**, **66** and **64** the figure faces right; in the last of these there is a pointed headdress of the form perhaps to be interpreted as 'horned' (see below, p. 83); this is also true of **62**, but the normal form in this series is certainly a round hat. Thebes 34 may belong here, but the arm posture is aberrant and it may rather be Second Kassite.

The second series has a seated figure, usually with a long dress, and always with arms 11, facing left. It is more unusual for there to be no symbols.²³⁵ The dress is nearly always long or bordered.²³⁶ Although I describe the arms in these first two series as of type 11 in both cases, the forward arm is usually nearly vertical in standing figures, and less so, or even horizontal, in seated ones. Although there is some difference in emphasis between the contexts favoured by the two types, I am not inclined to view this difference as significant. It is more probably the consequence of a seated figure having a space above the knees in which to place a forearm, while with a standing figure it is more convenient to keep the extremities close to the body. The equivalence of the arm postures is shown by **49**, which bears a vase like the seated figures in **26**, **39** and Scheil 1916, no. 26.

The third series has a standing figure with arms 7 facing right, usually with symbols.²³⁷ **78** probably belongs here, despite the unusual posture.²³⁸ The dress, as in the two-figure scenes, may be long or open; there are no flounced cases but this may be accidental as this dress is rare in general.²³⁹

Finally there is the series having a standing figure with arms 3, facing right. The most striking distinction within this series is between the figures with round hats and those with 'horned' ones. Symbols are rare.²⁴⁰

There are a few seals with single figures in the 'interceding' attitude but they have nothing else in common.²⁴¹

It is difficult to predict the association between single figures and symbols for two reasons. The first is that scenes without symbols are much more common with single figures than they were with two-figure scenes.²⁴² The second is that the groups of scenes were defined from their figure combinations, and some individual figures were common to both groups. **1107** was only found in the Northern tradition. We find that the two clear cases of **1107**, **73** and **74**, do indeed have the Northern symbols fly and horizontal animal, though the uppermost animal in **74** has some resemblance to a dog.²⁴³ Seated figures and the interceding goddess (**1602**) were only found in the Central tradition. The only single interceding goddesses seem to be on the Nippur impression **111**, with the nude female, and the Nuzi impression Nuzi 680. These may both be Old Babylonian survivals. The figure **1111** was distinguished in the two traditions by orientation. Nearly all the examples of this figure face left and should therefore be Northern. The only case, however, which has a Northern symbol without one of the main series of symbols as well is **244**, and in general the symbols in this series show no tendency towards the Northern group - the nude female and the fly never occur, the vase in the field only in the spiky objects on **55** and **96**, and the bird only in **51** and perhaps **53**. The horizontal animal alone is fairly frequent,²⁴⁴ but this number is no more than would be expected from a random distribution. No distinction can be made between the symbols according to the orientation of the main figure.²⁴⁵ On the other hand there are several seals with royal names bearing this scene of a single figure **1111**, and Central symbols such as the cross, dog and kneeling man.²⁴⁶ Compared with Central two-figure scenes the seals with this figure show a certain difference in emphasis, with much more use of the rhomb, rosette and horizontal animal,²⁴⁷ and there is also a high proportion of cases with no symbols at all.

The two other one-figure series are then easily dealt with. **1103**, usually without symbols, but with the Central ones if at all, and with two members naming Kurigalzu (**7**, **11**) evidently belongs in the same place as

²³⁴ **56**, **57**, possibly Old Babylonian?

²³⁵ **44**, VR 553?, BM 89071, Southesk Qb 38.

²³⁶ A couple of flounced cases: **27**, **45**.

²³⁷ Except **75**, Nippur I pl.121:3.

²³⁸ I am unable to decide whether Newell 275 has this arm position or type 10.

²³⁹ Cf. in pseudo-Kassite, e.g. Choga Zanbil 16.

²⁴⁰ **7** and **8** with pointed hats, **13** and Philadelphia 544 with round ones.

²⁴¹ **111**, **114**, Geneva 53. See Buchanan 1957, 46.

²⁴² The only Central two-figure scenes without symbols are on **1** (where the field is occupied by an inscription); the other entry in the table above is **16**, which has an unusual symbol (which may be a table or an altar?). Nearly half of the designs with a single figure **1111** have no symbols.

²⁴³ But the normal dog always faces right.

²⁴⁴ **50**, **51**, **55**, **64**, **244**, Limet-Trokay 1969.

²⁴⁵ The cross and corn ear of **65** are as **190** and BM 134692, and, with the rhomb, as **49**; the cross, rhombs and locust of **66** are as **52**, while most of the symbols on **64** recur on **50**.

²⁴⁶ **58**, **60**, **63**, **66**.

²⁴⁷ Note that these symbols occur in Mitannian and in the Northern seal **96**, suggesting that the most extreme Central seals are those with two-figure scenes.

the previous series. This is confirmed by the example from Babylonia, **12. 1107**, usually with symbols, and not represented in the Kurigalzu-Burnaburiash group, belongs by contrast to the Northern tradition. The only doubtful points are the dog on **74** (see above), the cross on **76**,²⁴⁸ and the cross and rhombs on **78**, which apart from being unusual in general has the good Northern symbols of bird and horizontal animal as well. Seals with rows of figures facing the same way may be appended here because they always include arms of type 7,²⁴⁹ with the exception of **83** (with 1111). These can have rhombs and rosettes, but never the kneeling man, dog, cross, corn ear or locust, and are strongly associated with birds. They therefore clearly belong to the Northern tradition as is illustrated by their appearance at Nuzi (**81, 83**, Nuzi 697), Megiddo (**82**) and Nimrud (**80**).²⁵⁰ It was observed in the Northern two-figure scenes that figures with arms 7 could have both long and open dresses, and this holds good for these figures both alone (**73, 76**) and in rows (**84, 85**) as well.

3.6.7 Other scenes.

There are a number of designs with three principal human figures.²⁵¹ There is no uniformity among the three-figure scenes, but some indications can be observed. In two cases the middle figure is a kneeling man. As kneeling men have been treated above as secondary these can be counted among the two-figure scenes 1103-4111 (**25**) and 1111-4111 (**33**),²⁵² which are both regular Central combinations, as we might expect, the kneeler being a Central symbol. **33** differs from the other members of its group in that the seated figure holds a branch rather than a cup. The eastern relation, however, still seems to hold good, as is shown by **236**; the piece is certainly late as it bears the name of Nazi-Maruttash. In all the other three-figure scenes the middle figure has arms of type 7.²⁵³ If the figure on the left can have either arms 7 (i.e. a duplicate of the middle figure) or arms 3, and if the figure on the right can have either arms 11 or arms 2, then we find that all of the four possible combinations occur: 7-7-2: **93**; 7-7-11: **234, 244**, Brussels 598; 3-7-2: **110**; 3-7-11: **100, 108, 233**. The exact combination of arms and dresses is never repeated, but the open dress²⁵⁴ does not combine on the same seal with arms 2. This combination, however, characterised the only Central two-figure scenes where both figures are standing.

If the figure on the left is omitted, then we have 1107-1102 (**93**), 1607-1102 (**110**), 1607-1111 (**234**), 1107-1111 (**108**), and 1407-1111 (**100, 233, 235**). With the exception of **110**²⁵⁵ all of these are standard Northern combinations, of which the only one missing is 1103-1102.²⁵⁶ It may be suggested, however, that the direction is not so much north as east, as we have no cases from Nuzi²⁵⁷ but examples from Subeidi and Choga Zanbil, which are probably pseudo-Kassite. From the cases where the figure on the left has arms 7, it follows that the left and middle figures may be sometimes equivalent in some sense, with the main division running between middle and right. This raises the question of whether the figures with arms of types 3 and 7 on the one hand, and 2 and 11 on the other, can be equated. This problem will be discussed below in the section on interpretation.

In one case, **1**, on the other hand, there is no doubt that the distinction is between the middle figure and the two outer ones, because the design systematically runs through all the possible two and three figure combinations keeping the middle figure constant. Both of the two-figure scenes on this seal are of Central type. It may be therefore that this is a characteristic difference between the Central and Northern traditions, that the former isolates the middle figure and the latter the one on the right.²⁵⁸

Another series has scenes without a principal human figure. About half of these have no design at all; of the others most have symbols belonging to the main series. Louvre A597 has horizontal animals, and is to be compared to Nuzi 708 as seals which one would hesitate to count as Kassite were it not for the long inscription. Moore 70 is another case with Northern symbols but has a more explicitly Kassite inscription. **68**

²⁴⁸ Which is not of the usual framed type, and is combined with the nude female.

²⁴⁹ Though sometimes including arms 3 as well: **86, 87**, perhaps **232**.

²⁵⁰ Though also at Nippur (**232?**, **255, 257**). Some or all of these may be pseudo-Kassite.

²⁵¹ Not counting those with a two figure scene and an extra unrelated figure, such as **103** and **227**, or rows of three figures all facing the same way, which have been included above.

²⁵² Cf. Turin 70028.

²⁵³ Except for **117**, which is aberrant in most respects, especially the 'Elaborate Elamite' (?) tree.

²⁵⁴ Type 3: **235**, possibly also **100, 233, 234**.

²⁵⁵ Which is aberrant in any case because of the figure 1603.

²⁵⁶ The symbols are not helpful being a mixture of Northern and Central.

²⁵⁷ And one from Nippur.

²⁵⁸ If so, then **115** and **120** may also be Central, because they have figures with arms 11 and 2 respectively facing right, which in two-figure scenes are restricted to Central. However, both seals have the Northern figure 1107, and the symbols on **120** are Northern (I am unable to decide what the arm position of the figure on the right on this seal, and on **117**, is).

and 129099 on the other hand show rows of insects, a symbol otherwise unknown.²⁵⁹ 68 has the name of Kurigalzu, while BM 129099 belonged to a priest of Eridu.²⁶⁰ These two seals are thus to be counted with the Central tradition, and so probably are the ones with no design at all, as one of them, Newell 665, has the name of Kurigalzu.

3.6.8 *The inscriptions.*

In general I have not focussed attention on the inscriptions being outside my competence, but Limet's classification of them into twelve groups may be compared with the results obtained above. This classification, however, is based on what the most important 'message' in the inscription is, and on occasions inscriptions may be very similar in all respects except this message and thus fall into different groups.²⁶¹ Limet's corpus of 178 seals is not the same field as was used above as it contains many Second and pseudo-Kassite seals. In the discussion below I divide the seals into four groups, which will be referred to as Early, Northern, Central and Late. The first has 17 seals which are transitional to Old Babylonian.²⁶² The second has 25 cases belonging to the Northern tradition, combining Northern two- and three-figure scenes, rows of figures facing the same way, and single figures with arms of type 7. The third has 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ seals²⁶³ of the Central tradition: all the other single-figure scenes, the Central two- and three-figure scenes, and the designs without a primary human figure; and the fourth has 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ designs of 'late' style.²⁶⁴

In Limet's classification the types become increasingly complicated, from the simple labels of Groups 1-3 to the long prayers and incantations of Groups 8-12. The distribution among the classes of design is much as we might expect. Inscriptions in Old Babylonian seals are rarely more than three lines long, and accordingly the Early group is heavily concentrated in Limet's Groups 1 and 2, which only include two Late seals.²⁶⁵ The Late seals, for their part, favour Groups 4 (arhuk.a, an appeal for mercy) and 7 (specific requests in Akkadian).

A two-figure scene occupies more space than a scene with one figure, so it is not surprising that Central two-figure scenes concentrate on the simple Groups 2-4²⁶⁶ while one-figure scenes have room for the longer Groups 5-11.²⁶⁷ Northern designs have a higher proportion of scenes with several figures and therefore prefer short inscriptions; but even so the almost complete absence of Groups 8-12 is surprising.²⁶⁸ These are the devotional, rather than practical, inscriptions. Groups 1-7 give useful information about the owner and make practical requests of the gods. In Groups 8-12 we have 'psalms', 'confessions', incantations, letters to the gods and dedications, in a quite different, a literary, atmosphere.

On the whole, therefore, the Northern tradition is not much interested in inscriptions for their own sake. One might speculate that in the Northern tradition the design was engraved first and the vacant space then filled out with one of the shorter inscriptions without much interest in its contents, while in the Central tradition the opposite was the case. As with the symbols we find that the Northern tradition is more of a subset of the Central one than an independent entity.

3.6.9 *Cutting style.*

This is very difficult to describe in exact terms and is thus not readily coded. It may be divided under two headings: cutting quality and manner of depiction. As half the quality of a published impression derives from

²⁵⁹ Unless on 234.

²⁶⁰ Thought by Smith (1938, 3) to be a suburb of Babylon. George (1985-6, 18) considers that the quarters of Babylon were not named before the building of the wall Imgur-Enlil, for which the earliest evidence (p. 21, n.11) is an epic mentioning it in the time of Adad-shuma-usur at the end of the thirteenth century; but this epic may itself date to the time of Nebuchadnezzar I (Grayson 1975, 45).

²⁶¹ See Limet 1971, 28, with respect to 84 and 80. These two seals have almost exactly the same inscription, except for the last line of the latter, which is unfortunately the defining criterion of Group 4. Given this similarity, and that both have a scene with two figures with arms 7 facing right, Limet's identification of the owners, who have the same name, should be accepted. 82 (Megiddo) is another seal with the same scene and a very similar inscription; Mazda 2 has this inscription again with a different scene, while 86, with the same scene and in the same group as 84, has no similarity in the specific phrases in use.

²⁶² Those considered Old Babylonian by Limet, 3.0 etc., are excluded.

²⁶³ For the half see 193.

²⁶⁴ Pseudo-Kassite and Second Kassite, which is phylogenetically, even if not chronologically later.

²⁶⁵ 130, Ward 517.

²⁶⁶ 1, 16, 22, 23, 24, 32, 126. As Group 2 is the main early group, and Group 4 the main late one, I find this difficult to interpret; it may be that cross-classifying the inscriptions by some different criterion would solve the problem. This would require specific philological understanding of the particular phrases in use. Another possibly significant group is that of 4, 5 and 8, which have closely similar inscriptions (Limet 4.17, 24, 25) and all show the figure 1103 with 'horns'.

²⁶⁷ Limet 2.17 (38) and 4.13 (51) are exceptions.

²⁶⁸ Only 88 (Limet 8.12).

the ability of the people who made, photographed and printed it,²⁶⁹ I do not propose to add to the comment made above that the quality of the pieces in the groups that have been identified is variable. This implies that these groups should not be identified with individual cutters or workshops, but rather with traditions linking several workshops in both space and time. This is not surprising. Suppose that at any given time there were ten cutters (or workshops) in Babylonia each producing one seal a year, that their active careers lasted for twenty years, and that the style lasted for only a hundred years. There would then be a thousand seals made by fifty cutters each responsible for twenty. As about two hundred seals have survived we would then have about four examples from each workshop. But of course the numbers given are ridiculously small, so four is a gross exaggeration of the number of surviving seals per cutter. This is why the close relations between the individuals named in the Kurigalzu-Burnaburiash group are so remarkable.

The manner of the cutting is best seen in the variation of some constant element, for which the bordered dress is convenient as the computer coding records a couple of sub-features, and this dress is well distributed among the style as a whole. It is important to bear in mind that detail of the order in question cannot be studied reliably from publications so the comments below are indicative only. In particular the presence or absence of ladder-patterning is not coded for this reason: on occasions it can be so fine that it does not show even on a good impression (e.g. 118).

The bordered dress (counted under type 1) has a line running down the middle of the dress below the waist. This line can be represented either by an incision or by the junction of two planes at different levels, the latter being one of the most distinctive features of Kassite cutting. Unfortunately this difference, which is probably more significant than the one to be discussed, cannot be recognised reliably without access to the original seal. Instead the line is divided into three types: a single line or plane change; a double line or narrow sunk plane (raised in impression); and more than two lines or two sunk planes.²⁷⁰ The distinction between the first two types is not important in most of the Central scenes, which have equal numbers of both, with the exception of the figure 1103 when on its own. This figure is nearly always shown with just a simple line down the front;²⁷¹ but this is not correlated with social class as 9 and 11 of the simple type bear the name of Kurigalzu. The Northern tradition, on the other hand, definitely favours the single line, though there are exceptions (e.g. 90, 97) including some which must be described as at the peripheral end of the tradition.²⁷² Figures in rows facing the same way, though a Northern type, show no preference for simple cutting. The most elaborate type is quite rare. In the Northern tradition it is only found in figures in rows²⁷³ and in the scene 1607-1111 (95, Ash 561). In the Central tradition it is concentrated among the single figures of type 1111.²⁷⁴ It is my impression that the Northern tradition is less likely to use plane changes than the Central, and in general shows less favour to specifically Kassite cutting.

Another feature of the bordered dress is the manner in which the border runs up over the shoulder. Unlike the previous feature this one is not just a question of cutting style but may also be affected by the actual manner of arranging the dress. On the whole, with the inevitable exceptions²⁷⁵ this feature does not occur in the Northern tradition, except where the figures face the same way²⁷⁶ in which the border runs up over the shoulder in front of the face. It is also rare in the figure 1103.²⁷⁷ In the Central tradition most of the cases have figures with arms 11, seated or standing, and there the border runs over the shoulder behind the head. In other words, this upper border inclines towards the right no matter what the orientation of the figure is, but because the arm postures change with orientation, so that the forward arm is held out if the figure faces left, and in if facing right, it seems likely that two dress arrangements are depicted. In pseudo-Kassite seals it is common to have a heavy horizontal border on the shoulder not bearing this diagonal one; this is rare in First Kassite except for some of the figures of type 1111.²⁷⁸ Several of these have three lines down the front and may signify a tendency towards an elaborate, late, and eastern linearity (not using plane-changes), in contrast to the simple, early, northern linear tradition mentioned above.

To summarise, then, the main Kassite tradition is characterised by bordered dresses cut with the typical and distinctive use of flat planes, and exhibiting a moderate use of detail in laddering and in upper borders. In the

²⁶⁹ Of which the last, for financial reasons, is not much in evidence in many catalogues published since the war, with a few notable exceptions such as CANES and Geneva.

²⁷⁰ Laddering occurs in the second and third types between the lines or within the sunk plane.

²⁷¹ 13 is an exception.

²⁷² 227, 228, 229, 235.

²⁷³ 87, perhaps 255.

²⁷⁴ 55, 66, BM 28799, 119321, Louvre A600.

²⁷⁵ 74, 90, 115, 227, 230.

²⁷⁶ 80, 82, 84, 85, 87, 255.

²⁷⁷ Except 4, 6.

²⁷⁸ 55, 61, BM 119321, Louvre A600, Moore 68.

contemporary Northern tradition, except where the figures are in rows facing the same way, this style is simplified and generalised into a linear style not unlike Elaborate Mitannian cutting in the Old Babylonian tradition.²⁷⁹ At the transition between the main Kassite style and pseudo-Kassite an over-elaborate linear style appears, characterised by unusual forms of inscription and a superfluity of symbols.²⁸⁰ The style favouring the figure 1103 when alone²⁸¹ appears on the face of it to follow the Northern tradition in its restrained use of line, but the symbols and names²⁸² make it clear that these seals belong to the Central tradition, and on closer inspection the cutting can be seen to be much finer than is usual in Northern, representing an extreme case of the classic Kassite manner utilising an admirable control of the material.²⁸³

3.6.10 *The kudurrus and the First Kassite style.*

On the face of it the kudurrus must seem the most obvious source of comparisons for the First Kassite seals. In both there is an inscription which can be more important than the design, which itself consists of a set of symbols and perhaps a simple main scene involving humans. In fact, the correspondence between them is remarkably limited. In the following outline I base my remarks on Seidl (1968) and the comparisons are concentrated on Babylonian and Assyrian seals. She lists 66 items that appear on kudurrus, of which several are too rare to be worth considering. There are 91 kudurrus listed in her seven second millennium groups.

The crescent, the disk and the star occur on all complete kudurrus. These are all rare in First Kassite²⁸⁴ but are common in Assyria. The seven dots, the bident, the towered building and the ziggurat all occur in Assyrian seals²⁸⁵ but not in Babylonia, as is also largely true of the symbol base²⁸⁶ though this does occur in Third Kassite (197, 208) as do the crescent and the star. The horned crown as a separate symbol never occurs on seals of this period, and the *marru* only in Third Kassite.²⁸⁷ There are no cases of the stylus, and the plough does not appear as an individual symbol.²⁸⁸ The only case of the lamp in our glyptic is the Assyrian 531. Flowing vases are a Babylonian motive usually found in Second Kassite but occasionally in First (3). The various isolated weapons (Seidl 1968, no. XVII-XXI) do not occur in seals. The corn ear is typical of both First and Second Kassite.²⁸⁹ Lions are very common in Assyria and very rare in Babylonia (151, 202), while the dog has the opposite distribution.²⁹⁰ The fox is most typical of Third Kassite (203, 214) but occurs occasionally in Assyria (298, 527). The seal 526 is thoroughly in the manner of a kudurru, with its horsehead on a symbol-base and bird on a pole, but is so unusual that it is unclassifiable as a seal.²⁹¹ Bulls occur in all classes of seal, but bearing a symbol only in the Third Kassite 220, where the symbol is a *marru*, not a bident as on the kudurrus. The sheep certainly occurs in Assyrian seals,²⁹² but Babylonian animals are not usually sufficiently clearly characterised to be sure (perhaps Limet-Trokay 1969?). The birds on the kudurrus (Seidl 1968, nos. XXXII-XXXV) do not correspond to the main types in glyptic.²⁹³ The tortoise, the snake and the scorpion are important symbols which are unknown in Babylonian and Assyrian seals.²⁹⁴ None of the standards with animal protomes occurs in seals.²⁹⁵

²⁷⁹ Except for much more use of the drill in the latter.

²⁸⁰ In the poetic expressions *ri-mi-i ra-a-mi*, *ak-pu-ud lu ne-me-lu*, etc; see e.g. Lambert 1970.

²⁸¹ And also seals such as 29, 34, 36, 37, 41, 42, 46.

²⁸² Especially 34, if owned by Kidin-Marduk's father.

²⁸³ Contrast Beran's dismissive attitude towards the style: 1957-8, 259.

²⁸⁴ The disk only occurs in unusual forms of the cross: 40, 226; the crescent and the star tend to combine and usually occur in aberrant or Old Babylonianising seals: 39, 52, 57, 114, 125, Hama fig. 193, Cugnin 55?

²⁸⁵ e.g. 527-530, 532, 533.

²⁸⁶ 3, Brett 131.

²⁸⁷ 197, 208, 213, 220; conceivably also 35 in First Kassite, but the bulge on the shaft seems to indicate that it is an altar.

²⁸⁸ Seidl 1968, 128. The Second Kassite and Assyrian ploughs (155, 156, 306, 13 Glyptik 67) are in agricultural scenes (see Lambert 1979, 22).

²⁸⁹ e.g. 13, 126, 180.

²⁹⁰ Assyria: only 507, 530, BM 89593.

²⁹¹ To count it as Kassite because it resembles a kudurru (Porada 1948a, 66, van Buren 1954a, 17) will not do because so many of the other kudurru symbols have no parallels on Kassite seals. Mayer-Opificius (1986, 164) gives reasons for classing it as Assyrian.

²⁹² 359, 405, Brett 131.

²⁹³ Except 526.

²⁹⁴ Though cf. the frog in First Kassite: 26, 67, 97; the scorpion is extremely common in Mitannian seals and it is strange that so obvious a creature should be missing elsewhere.

²⁹⁵ Seidl 1968, nos. XXXIX-XLII. The double lion-club occurs in some Babylonianising Mitannian seals and perhaps in the First Kassite Ash 561.

²⁹⁶ Collon 1982a, 126, Buchanan 1971, Porada 1974/7, 141.

The snake-goddess is a Syro-Mitannian demon²⁹⁶ unknown in Babylonia,²⁹⁷ but 475 is probably Assyrian. There are at least eight different kinds of scorpion-monster (Green 1983, 169), none of which occurs in Babylonian seals, except the scorpion-tailed centaur in 161 and perhaps 267.²⁹⁸ However there is a wide variety of Assyrian scorpion-monsters,²⁹⁹ if not exactly as in the kudurrus (Seidl 1968, nos. XLIV, XLV). Lion-demons never appear on Babylonian seals but are common in early Middle Assyrian ones, though there they are always winged and do not adopt the smiting posture.³⁰⁰ The main wingless series in our period is in Cyprus, but these seem to be unrelated.³⁰¹ There are a few Mitannian and Syrian lion-demons³⁰² but the best comparison in glyptic seems to be with 495 and 607. Neither of these seals belongs to a style that is recognisable at present. The bullman is restricted to Mitannian seals with a few of their early Assyrian descendants.³⁰³ The goatfish is very rare in seals.³⁰⁴ Winged lions are, as explained by Seidl (1968, 184) predominantly Kirkuk Mitannian and Assyrian. The snake-dragon, on the other hand, is not found in glyptic.³⁰⁵ Winged bulls are common in Assyrian and both Second and Third Kassite.³⁰⁶

The anthropomorphic figures (Seidl 1968, nos. LIII-LV) might seem more comparable to First Kassite, but the exact postures are quite different. In particular, the seated goddess on the kudurrus holds both hands up in arm position 2, while on the seals seated figures nearly always have arms type 11.³⁰⁷ On the seals seated figures always face left, while on kudurrus they can face right. The form of the scenes is also quite different. The man beside the altar before the goddess in Seidl 1968, no. 30 is much more like an Assyrian seal such as 528 than any Kassite one. In Seidl 1968, no. 23, the scene of one figure leading another towards the goddess is quite unlike any glyptic design.³⁰⁸

The omega symbol never occurs on a Babylonian seal. It is common in Assyrian ones (Seidl 1968, 200) and occasionally also appears further west.³⁰⁹ The cross, one of the most important First Kassite symbols, only occurs on a single kudurru (Seidl 1968, 204, no. 5). The lattice is not found in Assyria or Babylonia but frequently occurs in Common Mitannian and Elamite seals.³¹⁰

The rapid review should suffice to demonstrate how little related are the kudurrus and the First Kassite style or indeed Babylonian glyptic in general. The flowing vase, the corn ear and the dog are the only First Kassite symbols with much of a distribution on the kudurrus, and they could all be Second Kassite. The cross only appears once and the other major First Kassite symbols, the rhomb, the rosette, the locust and the fly are completely absent. The centaur, the goatfish, the lion and the winged bull are other Second Kassite symbols present, but except for the first they could as well be Assyrian. Likewise the Third Kassite symbols, crescent, star, symbol base, fox and winged bull are shared by Assyria, leaving only the *marru* and perhaps the bull bearing a symbol. On the other hand apart from those just mentioned we have the disk, the seven dots, the bident, the towered building, the ziggurat, the lamp, the scene with an altar and the omega as items which are certainly Assyrian in glyptic terms, while the snake-goddess, the scorpion-man, the lion-demon and the winged lion may be so, or at least related to some northern style. The scorpion, the bullman and the lattice are Mitannian symbols which hardly occur in either Assyrian or Babylonian seals, though with the first two one may speculate that the transmission might be directly from Old Babylonian (Collon 1986a, 41, 47) by some channel other than glyptic. That there were symbolic traditions not represented in seals is further suggested by the elements which have not much circulation in glyptic, the horned crown and the plough as separate symbols,

²⁹⁷ Though BM III 451 of the previous period conforms to a Sippar style (Collon 1986a, 176 with further cases).

²⁹⁸ The former is closer to the centaurs on the kudurrus than are the Assyrian cases, of which only 12 Glyptik 43-44 have bows (cf. 409); but they are not in the leaping posture of the centaurs in 161 and the kudurrus. Leaping Assyrian centaurs, such as 355, wield swords (see the discussion in the Assyrian chapter, p. 98). Nuzi 134, cited by Seidl 1968, 176 and Parker 1977, 264 as a centaur, looks to me like a common crested griffin.

²⁹⁹ e.g. 368, 394, 401, 423, probably 13 Glyptik 24. Cf. also at Nuzi, 468 and 624, and the Levantine Ash 994.

³⁰⁰ e.g. 279, 280, 281, 284, 285, 288, 289, 297, 464, 476, 487, 14 Glyptik 5, 6, 12.

³⁰¹ e.g. RS 22.042, 23.438, Thebes 1, BN 476, VR 585, Kenna BM 79, Geneva 166, 167, Geneva III 142, BM 133026, 134771, Louvre A1194, Kenna 1972, figs. 31, 35; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983, Chypre A7.

³⁰² e.g. 469, 589, 590, HSS XIV 281, VR 540, CANES 1041, 1042.

³⁰³ e.g. 286, 620, Nuzi 777; 464, 465, 483.

³⁰⁴ Assyria: 529; Second Kassite: 142; perhaps 81?

³⁰⁵ There may be one in 197, but only if restored thus because of the *marru*.

³⁰⁶ e.g. 425, 12 Glyptik 8; 145, 164, 166; 209, 211.

³⁰⁷ Except 125.

³⁰⁸ Seidl's comparison with Isin period intercession scenes (1968, 198) is sound; but note also that the strange seal 307 includes both a harp and one person grasping another's hand, both very rare features which occur on the kudurrus; but the arrangement is quite different. Cf. also in Third Kassite BM 119198.

³⁰⁹ e.g. 570, Ash 1010.

³¹⁰ e.g. Ash 951, Choga Zanbil 89.

the stylus, the various human figures and isolated weapons, the animal protomes, the snake and the snake-dragon.³¹¹

So First Kassite is as little related to the kudurrus as to the most distant contemporary glyptic style. On the other hand the kudurrus do show close relations, both in positive and in negative respects, to the Assyrian seals, if not quite close enough to be able to say 'made in Assyria'.

The most obvious explanation is chronological. Of Seidl's 91 second millennium kudurrus, only the first two are dated before Kashtiliash IV in the later thirteenth century. By this time the Assyrian style had reached maturity, and according to my scheme First Kassite was extinct and Second Kassite was drawing to its close.³¹² I have suggested that the Third Kassite style in the twelfth century shows a stronger Assyrian than Babylonian ancestry. The processes which caused this may have operated in the previous century upon the kudurrus. Although the First Kassite style is explicitly connected to the court by the names of some of the owners, this is not documented for the later Second Kassite seals. Perhaps the disasters which Kashtiliash IV suffered at the hands of Tukulti-Ninurta I led to a loss of confidence in Babylonian traditions in the court which affected the kudurrus, which are royal documents, and only spread to the more general culture of Babylonia a couple of generations later at the time of the Elamite invasions.

3.6.11 Interpretation.

As was said at the beginning, it is much easier to determine where the meaning resides in the design than to identify what that meaning is. Nonetheless some comments may be in order so long as it is recognised that they are little more than speculations.

My understanding of the seals rests on a refinement of the relationship between the figures and the symbols on the seals. These were divided above into Northern and Central scenes and symbols. The scenes with single humans were mostly with arms of types 7 and 3 facing right, and with type 11 facing left. The first was allocated to the Northern tradition and the other two to the Central. Type 7 went with Northern symbols, type 3 normally had no symbols and type 11 was found with Central symbols. All three arm types, however, occur in two-figure scenes of both traditions.

This may be explained if we propose that in Central two-figure scenes the symbols are determined not by the combination of figures (which is what determines that the scene is Central), but by the figure on the right, and in Northern two-figure scenes by the figure on the left. This then explains why the figure with arms 7, when isolated, is a Northern scene (because it is a 'figure on the left'), and why the isolated figure with arms 11 (which is 'on the right') is a Central scene. Now the figure with arms 3 is 'on the left' (because it always faces right), but when isolated we have assigned it to the Central tradition. That the assignation to Central is correct is shown by that this figure, unlike the isolated figures with arms 7 and 11, does not normally have any symbols at all. In other words the isolated 1103 is indeed a Central scene, but because Central symbols are associated with the figure on the right, no symbols are included in the design. Arms of type 2, which face left as often as right, cannot be fitted into this scheme. This may be explained by assimilating arms 3 and 7 together as a single 'Person on the Left', who may conveniently be called the 'King'³¹³ while arms 11 becomes the 'Person on the Right' or 'God'. Arms 2 then defines a third person (or 'Intercessor') for whom the rule of orientation does not apply.

The use of horns to indicate divinity is well established in Mesopotamian iconography both before and after this period, but it requires caution here. Nearly all First Kassite headdresses are round caps, but there is a steeply pointed hatched headdress which may correspond to 'horns'.³¹⁴ Such headdresses occur in most cases of the figure 1602, in about half of the examples of 1103,³¹⁵ in some of type 4111,³¹⁶ and 4611 (27, 45, 46), and in a few standing figures with arms of type 11³¹⁷ or 7 (78, 234, 255). Some of these may be a consequence of a certain association with the flounced dress, but most of the ones in figures of types 1103 and 4111 seem to be rather the mark of a particular style than of any meaning. As these figures often have a round cap instead, and show the structural opposition in their combinations described above, I think that the assumption that the horned cap (if this is one) reflects divinity should be treated with extreme caution in this period. On the other

³¹¹ Though several of these do appear in earlier seals of Old Babylonian or Akkadian style.

³¹² If according to the conventional view (see above, p. 58) First Kassite lasted until the end of the Kassite dynasty, which was the most important period for the kudurrus, then the divergence between them is harder to explain.

³¹³ From the stelai of Naram-Sin and Hammurabi. The headdress and hair of 78 and 79 look more divine than royal. Both seals are atypical in form, 78 with its bird and cross, 79 with its cutting which Porada (on the museum record card) rightly compares to sixteenth or seventeenth century Elamite work (though this arm position is very rare in Schematic Elamite; cf. also de Clercq 359). These seals may depict a god whose role corresponded in some way with that of the King (cf. above, p. 39).

³¹⁴ So Beran 1957-8, 258 (46, 78), 259 (5).

³¹⁵ 4-8, Newell 274.

³¹⁶ 29, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42.

³¹⁷ 62, 64, 144.

hand, in view of the great reverence shown to the gods in the inscriptions, it appears to me highly unlikely that the lack of a credible horned deity implies a general absence of the gods from the designs. I see the figure on the right, whether 'horned' or not, as the God (not some particular god, as no means of identification is supplied), and the pointed cap as a trait of purely stylistic significance at least in most cases.

There are then three major persons in the Kassite world, the King, the God and the Intercessor. The King always faces right, and the God always faces left. The King has two major functions, namely to win battles and to maintain the cult, and in consequence he has two aspects represented by arms of type 7 and 3 respectively. There are two important traditions in Kassite glyptic, the Northern and the Central. The Northern is particularly interested in the King, the Central in the God. The King's relative status is highest when he is in warlike aspect (I do not mean that war is more important than devotion, but that the King is more prominent in the scene than when he is expressing his submission to the God), and lowest when he is kneeling; the God's relative status is higher when he is seated than when he stands.³¹⁸ Accordingly the Northern tradition does not include the most lowly King (kneeling) or the highest God (seated), while the Central tradition only shows the God standing when his supremacy is unquestioned by isolation or by having the King on his knees. The Northern tradition never shows the God on his own, but the King may appear in isolation, or even duplicated, in his warlike aspect. The Central tradition only shows an isolated King in devotional aspect. The Intercessor is more complicated, and I am unable to explain her distribution. The explicit interchangeability of the two forms in 1 indicates, however, that there is little significant difference in meaning between them.³¹⁹

Minor figures are those not covered by the above scheme. The flounced dress, which is worn occasionally by all of the figures mentioned above may represent either a stylistic variant or some refinement in the meaning. The same goes for variations in headgear and perhaps for some of the symbols, with the exception of the kneeling man, who is identified above as the King.³²⁰

In the above discussion it is implied that the two irreducible attributes of the God are the arms of type 11 and the location on the right. What then of figures of this form on the left? The only regular context here is when he faces a seated God holding a vessel.³²¹ I suggest that here the standing figure is neither the God nor the King, but a different figure who is at home in Elam (e.g. 237). According to Moortgat-Correns (1964, 167-8) the seated figure in 524 is not a god but the king after the fashion of the neo-Assyrian linear style. Now the ritual scenes in this style showing the king with an attendant bearing a fan are certainly derived from Middle Elamite seals,³²² though it is doubtful whether the corresponding Elamite seated figure is human or divine (Porada 1970, 11). Given the care usually exerted by the Central tradition to emphasise the inferiority of the King to the God I find it difficult to believe that the seated figure in these Kassite impressions is not divine, but the identification of the standing person with the Elamite 'attendant' seems reasonable, and solves the difficulty of a 'God' on the left: indeed in 32 he may even be holding a fan. Although the isolated figures of this kind, such as 66, show no difference from the standing God facing left, the example especially of 30 shows that this can be true also of the 'attendant'.

A rationale for the different emphasis on the king and the god may be proposed as follows. The Kassite dynasty may have come from the north-east, that is from the lands beyond the border territory between Nuzi and the Hamrin where the evidence for the Northern tradition has been found. When they arrived at Babylon they found temples and a cult very much older than themselves, which they assiduously maintained. Thus the Kassite kings were geographically associated with the north, but in the centre of Babylonia they were overshadowed by the ancient gods. Moreover when the king had to go to war, it was normally on the edge of the kingdom, and the general vicinity of the Hamrin, being a meeting point between Babylonia, Assyria and Elam, was one of the most likely areas to be involved. The king's main devotional activities, such as taking the hand of Marduk, were on the other hand done in the cities of Babylonia.

³¹⁸ Sitting may have been a more unusual posture in ordinary life in antiquity than today as the normal position would be squatting. This would enhance its status. See also the texts cited by Winter 1986, 255 n. 3 and 1987, 82-3.

³¹⁹ 1102 and 1602. Note especially that 1602 has a pointed hat on this seal while 1102 has a rounded one.

³²⁰ This may not be true when he has arms 11.

³²¹ 30, 31, 32; probably Turin 70028.

³²² See the discussion in the Assyrian chapter, p. 113.

3.6.12 Instructions for composition ('Generative rules').

These instructions are given in abbreviated form. N and C are Northern and Central. 'Symbols' in Central means one or more of: dog, cross, rhomb, corn ear, insect, rosette, rampant animal, vessel in the hand and locust. 'Symbols' in Northern means one or more of: horizontal animal, vessel in the field, fly, nude female, monkey and bird. The instructions do not cover rare variants such as three-figure scenes and some cases with flounced dresses.

1. N: engrave design first.

C: engrave inscription first, the longer the better.

Adapt an inscription (N) or design (C) to the remaining space.

2. C: start with the King or the God.

If the King: faces right; decide whether warlike : 1407

or devotional : 1103

If warlike, include an Intercessor, facing left, 1102 or 1602, and Symbols. C1A-B

If devotional, hat may be pointed ('horned'); no symbols. C2

If the God : faces left; decide whether standing : 1111

or seated : 4111

If the King is present as well, then there are always Symbols,
and the King faces right, has a long dress and arms 3.

If the God is standing, the King kneels (3103), and is
usually treated as a filling symbol. C3

If the God is seated, the King either stands : 1103 C4

or kneels as a filling symbol : 3103 C5

or is replaced by the 'attendant' : 1111, facing right. C6

If the King is not present, and the God sits, include Symbols: C7

and a flounced Intercessor (1602) may be added. C8

If the God stands, Symbols are optional. C9A-B

If the King and the God are both absent, Symbols are optional. C10A-B

3. N: start with the King; faces right. Decide whether warlike : arms 7

or devotional : 1103

If devotional: include Symbols and the Intercessor 1102 facing left. N1

If warlike, decide whether alone or accompanied.

If alone, include Symbols; dress may be long or open N2

a second King, warlike or devotional may be added. N3

If accompanied, decide whether by the God : 1111

or the Intercessor : 1102

both face left; Symbols are optional.

If the Intercessor, the King wears a long robe. N4

If the God, the King's dress may be long, open or flounced. N5A-C

Northern tradition.

N1 1103-1102	71, 72 , Jitta 1952, no. 109 (Hague)
N2A 1107	73, 74, 75 , Newell 275? Mazda 4? (250, <i>Choga Zanbil</i> 16-17, etc.)
N2B 1407	76, 77 , cf. 79
variant? :	78
N3A 1107- 1107-	80, 81, 82 , Nuzi 697; example from Bahrain, kindly shown to me by Ms Branwen E. Denton of Bryn Mawr; 256? (animal frieze: Nuzi 702; <i>Philadelphia</i> 567, <i>Failaka</i> 400, 418)
one flounced:	254, 255, (258, <i>Choga Zanbil</i> 4)
variant:	83?
1407- 1107-	84, 85
variants:	88 , 257
N3B 1103- 1107-	86, 87
variant:	232? (241)
N4 1107-1102	89-92, 94? (or N1? N3?)
cf. 3-figure:	93
N5A 1607-1111	95 , Ash 561; (friezes: 227, 230)
cf. 3-figure:	234
N5B 1407-1111	96-99 ,
cf. 3-figure:	100 , Brussels 598 (if genuine), 235; (233)
N5C 1107-1111	101-107 , <i>Philadelphia</i> 566, Nuzi 690, 701? (or N5B?), (229, <i>Failaka</i> 399; no inscription: 228)
cf. 3-figure:	108

Other pieces.

O1A with 1602 :	109-113 (OB?: Nuzi 680; Second Kassite: 192 , Ward 533?)
O1B with 1102 :	114-117 , Geneva 53
O2 probably Northern:	118-124 , BM 89223
O3 probably Central :	125, 126
O4 scene uncertain :	127, 128 , de Clercq 265, Nuzi 692, 698, <i>Philadelphia</i> 553, 564, 565, Louvre A602 (neo-Bab?), CANES 580, Sissa 103 (fake?)

4. The Assyrian Style.

4.1 Introduction.

The Assyrian style was, to judge from the number of extant actual seals, the least common of the major styles of the late second millennium. There are about 140 surviving Assyrian seals, considerably fewer than the available quantities of Babylonian, Mitannian or Cypriote ones. About 80% of these Assyrian seals are made of hard stone and in accordance with this the Assyrians maintained consistently higher standards than any other craftsmen. The remainder are almost all in soft stone: faience was not normally used in Assyria.¹

As a counter to this thin showing in collections² the style has by far the best distributed corpus of impressions. There are about 240 of these, certainly not comparable to Nuzi; but while the Mitannian impressions are concentrated on one time and one (peripheral) place, the Assyrian impressions are spread over three hundred years at Assur, the Assyrian metropolis, and in the thirteenth century occur also in significant numbers in the west, principally at Rimah. The overall quality of these impressions is, if anything, even higher than that of the extant seals. This may to an extent be the result of selection by Moortgat and Beran, but at Rimah and Fakhariyah, where the publication is complete, most of the impressions are still very fine. There is a remarkably close correspondence between the political and cultural developments in Assyria both in space and in time. One may compare the Mitannian style, which existed over a wider area and for a longer time than the Mitannian kingdom, and which appears to have had a more vigorous development in the minor vassal-state of Arrapkha than in the metropolitan area. The Assyrian kingdom first rose to prominence in the time of Assurballit I, and gained rapidly in importance until the conquest of Babylon a century later. After that its progress was one of irregular decline resulting in the eleventh century in insignificance, though not dissolution.³

The origin of the Assyrian style has been adequately studied by Beran (1957) and seems to precede the rise of the state by about one generation. However it is reasonable to suppose that some increase in strength must have occurred before Assurballit was able to reap the rewards. Beran traces the first developments to the time of Assur-nirari II (1957, 142-3), but, as he showed himself (1957, 200-215), there were parallel movements at Nuzi, and it is really only with Assurballit's father Eriba-Adad that the style is decisively different from Mitannian.⁴ From the reign of Eriba-Adad the style rapidly reached maturity in the time of Adad-nirari I in the early thirteenth century.

This formative phase is distinctive, and differs more from the early mature style of Adad-nirari I than the latter does from the later mature styles. It occurs in impressions from Assur⁵ and Rimah⁶ but is extremely rare in collections.⁷ This suggests that the production was small and may not have occurred outside Assur.⁸ The cases from Rimah are then something of an embarrassment, especially as the archive is supposed to date from the reigns of Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I. One can allow for survivals at Assur, but this explanation is less cogent at Rimah. The tablets bearing Iraq 39-11, 14 and 15 only have impressions of Mitannian or early Assyrian style, which suggests that they should be dated to the fourteenth century. However in at least one case, Iraq 39-15, a date to Shalmaneser is possible on the epigraphic evidence.⁹ But in the light of the substantial proportion of Rimah impressions of fourteenth and early thirteenth (Mayer-Opificius 1986, 164) century style, it seems probable that some of the tablets should be dated at least to Adad-nirari.¹⁰

¹ Exceptions: e.g. 376, 418, 516; perhaps 449, Hama fig.190C if these can be called Middle Assyrian. Evidence is however beginning to emerge of a consistent Middle Assyrian Cut style in glass, e.g. 420, 449, Mohammed Arab 6, VR D5: see Collon 1987, 69. This style, which does not follow the usual Assyrian conventions, needs to be distinguished from Assyrian seals of normal construction with linear engraving, e.g. 348, 438, Fakhariyah XXIII.

² And even thinner in excavations: there are less than a dozen Assyrian seals from the most productive site, Assur.

³ Tiglath-pileser I was the last impressive Middle Assyrian king, but if the Broken Obelisk and the White Obelisk can be assigned to Assur-bel-kala and Assurnasirpal I respectively, then the state retained some resilience for another forty years or so.

⁴ Though note that the evidence before this time is deficient. A strong argument against any very early emergence of Assyrian is its absence from Nuzi, which is not very far away.

⁵ 277-284, 286, 288, 293-295, 297, 301, 304, 458, 459, 461, 463-466, 474, 476, 477, 486-488, 14 Glyptik 5, 6, 10, 12-15, 40, 41, 84, 86-88, 90, 91, Weber 35, VR D2.

⁶ 296, 451, Iraq 39-11A; 14B; 15D, E; 32D; 40; cf. 299.

⁷ e.g. 285, 287, 289-292, 300, 467, 475. All except 467 belong to the later part of the phase when the transition to mature Middle Assyrian was under way, as can be seen from the trees and the incipient 'Assyrian hero'.

⁸ See especially for this Nissen 1967.

⁹ Saporetta 1979, 90: TR 2033 with limmu *restored* as Usat-Marduk who belongs (Saporetta 1979, 89) to a sequence of Shalmaneser eponyms.

¹⁰ At least one third of the Rimah tablets with seals can only be dated from the general spread of the archive. As there are very few known Adad-nirari eponyms it is not surprising that this spread is restricted to Shalmaneser and Tukulti-Ninurta. Cf. also the early Assyrian seal from Rimah, 299: no mature Assyrian seals were found at the site.

The thirteenth century saw the most vigorous expansion of the Assyrian state, principally in the eternal struggle that was required of all Mesopotamian countries to hold the eastern frontier, and in the absorption of the remnants of the Mitannian territories, but also under Tukulti-Ninurta I in a conquest of Babylonia. This last move seems to have been short-lived and over-ambitious (Munn-Rankin 1975, 290); if the Assyrian claim that Babylonia was the aggressor is not merely propaganda the conquest may have occurred more or less by accident. In any case the glyptic evidence for a direct Assyrian impact on Babylonia is negligible.¹¹ 376 is a fine Assyrian seal, but like the other seals found with it in a deposit in the ziggurat complex at Ur it is engraved on a soft material in a manner more typical of hard stone cutting.¹² 344 is the only other Assyrian seal from Babylonia known to me.¹³ It is indeed surprising that there are not more stray pieces from Babylonia like the ones from Iran,¹⁴ Hama (342) and Tyre (533).¹⁵ The most sustained Assyrian expansionary effort was in the west, where, at Rimah, Fakhariyah and elsewhere¹⁶ there is more evidence than from central Assyria, excluding Assur.¹⁷ The dating evidence for the western impressions assigns them to the later thirteenth century, and this is borne out by the historical events.¹⁸ Assyrian kings were always inclined to be optimistic about their achievements; but Khanigalbat seems to have been restricted to the mountains after Shalmaneser (Wilhelm 1982, 56-7), and the evidence for hostility between the Hittites and Assyria in Tukulti-Ninurta's time¹⁹ suggests that there was then no buffer-state between them. After the thirteenth century the whole west was in turmoil with the fall of the Hittite empire and presumably the Assyrian boundaries gradually declined.

After Tukulti-Ninurta I, thus, the Assyrians were increasingly driven back on Assur itself in the afterglow of the thirteenth century state, until the descent into obscurity in the eleventh century. This intermittently vigorous period is accordingly represented by the archives of Ninurta-tukulti-Assur and Tiglath-pileser I at Assur, but is hardly documented elsewhere.²⁰ These late impressions show no diminution in artistic quality, but have rather less variety of subject than the thirteenth century.

After this time there is no direct evidence until it becomes possible to utilise comparisons with the palace reliefs nearly three centuries later. It appears that the Assyrian glyptic of the Dark Age contained two strands. According to Mayer-Opificius (1984, 198) the neo-Assyrian period commences with Tiglath-pileser I. To some extent this question is artificial (a continuum cannot be sharply subdivided), but if this statement means that the glyptic of Tiglath-pileser I has more in common with that of Assurnasirpal II than with that of Tukulti-Ninurta I, then it is quite untrue. There is indeed less difference between the late thirteenth century and the late twelfth century than there is between the beginning and the end of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless there is a small number of designs showing novel traits which form a bridge between Middle Assyrian and modelled neo-Assyrian seals (Mayer-Opificius 1984, 198-199).

The other strand consists of the neo-Assyrian Linear Style. These seals comprise what in Porada's terms would be described as a 'Common Style': the quality is low, the output large, and the appearance consistent.²¹ It is usual to date this style to the ninth and eighth centuries (e.g. Teissier 1984, 34), because it is not known in Middle Assyrian contexts and shows in some instances similarities with the reliefs of Assurnasirpal II. It is certainly absent from the twelfth century impressions,²² but I would like to suggest that it originated almost immediately afterwards, for three reasons. The first is that it is rare in neo-Assyrian impressions, suggesting that it may have already been in decline by the late ninth century.²³ The second is that it is a very common style in collections,²⁴ much more so than the transitional good-quality pieces, and should thus have been a main style at

¹¹ Though there was a strong influence expressed indirectly in the Third Kassite style.

¹² 147, 160 (=BM 122539); 190 (=BM 122553). Woolley 1939, 90 says that all four seals are of glazed frit, but UEX describes no.607 as of shell. The two British Museum examples are in glass.

¹³ 169 and 175 should be counted as Second Kassite because of the way the animals meet over the tree, cf. 164, 165, 168, 176.

¹⁴ 350, Surkh Dum 35.

¹⁵ Cf. also Adana 60 (511), 62, though their provenance is unknown. There is said to be one from Tell Yin'am in Palestine (Liebowitz 1978, 194), but the term 'Middle Assyrian' is not always used precisely. 520, from Beth Shan, appears to show Assyrian elements.

¹⁶ e.g. Sheikh Hamad: Damascus 51-53 (361, 411; also 348) and more as yet unpublished; 515 from Mallowan's Khabur expedition.

¹⁷ 368, 532, BM 89447. I am unable to classify BM 89806. The British Museum has a number of unprovenanced seals acquired by Layard: of these 443 and BM 89776 are said to come from Assyria.

¹⁸ Though see above for an earlier date for some of the Rimah tablets. Rimah was probably not part of the Mitannian successor state that formed after the downfall of Tushratta, while the Khabur sites probably were.

¹⁹ Munn-Rankin 1975, 291-2; Porada 1979a, 8-9.

²⁰ 368 from Nineveh may belong to the twelfth century (Postgate 1973, 16-18; Saporetti 1979, 133), and this would certainly make iconographic sense: cf. 394, 12 Glyptik 6, 7.

²¹ It is striking, and surprising, that there was no such Middle Assyrian Common Style. There are some seals with a coarser manner of engraving, e.g. 352, 418, Fakhariyah XXIII, but they are rare and do not form a coherent group.

²² This is one of the most conclusive arguments for not describing them as neo-Assyrian.

²³ Though note its prevalence at Khorsabad (Louvre K).

²⁴ e.g. CANES 610-685.

some time. The Dark Age is the most convenient time for this. Finally it shows a specific inheritance from Middle Elamite, especially in the Fan Scene, which seems less likely long after the destruction of the Middle Elamite state at the end of the twelfth century.

There has been no comprehensive study of Middle Assyrian since the original contributions of Moortgat and Beran. Such a study would be desirable, but should include a new and complete publication of the Assur impressions making use of a general knowledge of the style which was naturally not available to the pioneers.²⁵ I am obliged to be less ambitious, and in particular have little to say about the fourteenth century series. The comments below utilise two lines of evidence which were not available thirty or forty years ago: a better dating of the tablets,²⁶ and much more comparative material. Mayer-Opificius (1986) has already made progress on these lines: I found her article a good starting point without entirely agreeing with it. The most important chronological question is whether, as Moortgat (1942, 72) denied but Beran (1957, 141-2) believed, the archive Assur 14446 should all be assigned to the fourteenth century. As Moortgat can now be justified²⁷ the awkward consequences of following Beran are no longer necessary.²⁸

In this chapter the Assyrian seals are divided into two groups, contest scenes and ritual scenes. The former are much more numerous and thus it is possible to attempt a detailed chronological discussion. They are defined by the presence of animals or monsters as primary elements; humans, when present, are nearly always 'stripped for action', either nude, in a short tunic, or in the open dress of type 3. Not all the designs in this class actually show contests, especially not two important series with animals and trees, which form the basis of my analysis. The 'ritual' scenes are not much more precisely named as this term is so general as to be almost meaningless. In them the primary elements are humans or griffin-demons and the humans nearly always wear long dresses. There is no violent action.

4.2 The Adad-nirari I style.

The reconstruction of the style of Adad-nirari I's time, the first part of the thirteenth century, is hampered by the shortage of transitional pieces between the early and mature Assyrian seals, and by the lack of impressions of this time. Nonetheless it is possible to obtain an accurate picture of the period. The key to the problem lies in the animals and the trees.

4.2.1 Trees.

No glyptic style in Mesopotamian history lavished so much imagination on the tree as the Middle Assyrian. This interest, however, is largely confined to the thirteenth century. Most of the fourteenth century examples show an elegant and refined volute-tree not far removed from its Mitannian ancestry,²⁹ while in the twelfth century the trees are rare, mostly badly preserved, and display no new features. Moreover the special interest in trees is less marked outside Assur: most of the trees from Fakhariyah and Rimah are of the common 'twisted' type.³⁰

The first developments occurred towards the end of the fourteenth century. In **286** we find the volute-tree elaborated in a distinctive way by placing clusters of volutes at intervals along the stem.³¹ None of the designs with this tree can be exactly dated, but their generally fourteenth century appearance needs no demonstration. **286** is impressed on a tablet which is dated by Saporetti (1979, 42: Assur 14446 dc) solely from the archive number. However the other impression on this tablet, **334**, is clearly of thirteenth century style.³² This suggests that **286** may belong to the later fourteenth century, though probably not the thirteenth, as the full-face bull-man, a familiar Mitannian demon, never occurs in mature Assyrian seals. At the top of the design is what may be a 'stirrup-symbol', which I shall assign usually to the Adad-nirari period (as Mayer-Opificius 1986, 162). **290**, with the standard kilted Assyrian hero, who does not appear in the dated fourteenth century impressions,

²⁵ Especially as many of the attractive drawings of Bollacher were apparently made early in the century, e.g. those published by Weber in 1920. In a few cases the designs were misunderstood, e.g. the fan in 14 Glyptik 49 (Porada 1970, 12 n3).

²⁶ I am particularly indebted to Mr. Postgate for help on this. It must be stressed that the attribution to royal reigns is only a convenient approximation resulting from the approach in the literature to the dating of the eponyms.

²⁷ As noted by Porada 1980a, 13: Assur 14446 af (= KAJ 307 = 13 Glyptik 15 = 14 Glyptik 37 (351)) dates to Adad-nirari I (Saporetti 1979, 60; cf. Mayer-Opificius 1986, 162); Assur 14446 cx (= KAJ 253 = 13 Glyptik 32 (317)) is dated to Adad-nirari I or Shalmaneser I (Saporetti 1979, 63). Where royal names are cited below without numbers the first king of that name is always meant: no Middle Assyrian impression is dated to any other Assurballit, Adad-nirari, Shalmaneser or Tukulti-Ninurta.

²⁸ See Venit 1986, 3 for the results of following Beran too closely.

²⁹ e.g. **278, 282, 284, 459, 476, 488**.

³⁰ **490** is a fine exception.

³¹ **287, 289, 290, 475, 516** are other examples.

³² It belongs to the 'animal and tree' series which I shall date to Shalmaneser.

confirms our dating of this tree to the period immediately after Assuruballit,³³ and we may add **292** which has a related hero and tree, but is still not thirteenth century because of the cluttered composition and the winged disk.³⁴

The other innovation to be assigned to this period between Assuruballit and Adad-nirari is the Assyrian palm tree, found in the impressions **288** and **489**. Comparison with the seals **289** and **516** respectively shows that these belong together. Both of the impressions are on tablets featuring a certain Parparaiu (KAJ 233, 8). The *limmu* of KAJ 8 is a son of King Eriba-Adad, suggesting a date in his brother Assuruballit's reign. However Saporetti (1979, 59) assigns another Parparaiu tablet (KAJ 10) to Adad-nirari I, so on the whole the period between the two kings still seems best.

It is very striking that the Second Kassite style at this time produced exactly the same diversification of trees. The 'Second Kassite tree'³⁵ is another kind of elongated volute-tree,³⁶ and we also find a beautifully detailed palm tree.³⁷ But as usual the exact parallelism between the early Assyrian and Second Kassite designs never gives rise to confusion.

The other Second Kassite tree is the globular twisted tree.³⁸ This tree certainly existed in Babylonia in the fourteenth century (**130**, **164**) but appears to have reached Assyria rather later (Porada 1986, 183). The earliest case is **431**, dated to Adad-nirari.³⁹ This would not be conclusive evidence that it did not arrive just after Assuruballit, but unlike the former trees the twisted tree never occurs in designs of fourteenth century appearance. The Second Kassite syntax of **431**, moreover, is noteworthy.⁴⁰

This tree was the precursor of a wide variety of Assyrian naturalistic trees. The earliest cases follow the Babylonian model of a twisted trunk supporting a globular crown. Later it became possible for the globular crown to rest on a straight stem (e.g. **316**), or for the twisted stem to bear more spreading branches (e.g. **333**). Alternatively the whole tree could degenerate into a bush of similar form (e.g. **346**) or just a few leaves, or a straight stem could bear spreading branches.⁴¹

As the palm tree did not last long, these naturalistic trees form one of the two main strands in the Assyrian arboreal tradition. The other, which was much less common, but was to have more of a future in the first millennium, descended from the fourteenth century volute-tree. Already in **290** some of the volutes are twining away from the stem towards a new life of their own. In **291** and Moortgat Festschrift 4 they form a continuous outer surface⁴² which became formalised as a wreath or garland around a separate inner tree.⁴³ Sometimes this garland resembles undulating streams.⁴⁴ The garland is often accompanied by 'croisillons'⁴⁵ which sometimes have an independent existence.⁴⁶

Although I have described the various kinds of garland-tree as a progression the exact course of the development remains unclear, and the stages above should not at present be seen as a chronological series. In particular there is a puzzle concerning the 'garland-cross', which occurs in seals datable to the period from Assuruballit to Adad-nirari.⁴⁷ This could be described either as an extremely developed case of 'croisillons', or as an elaborated kind of cross. The incomplete condition of the two impressions is not helpful.⁴⁸

³³ The dated fourteenth century impressions end with this reign.

³⁴ The general impression is close to **475**, while the distinctive volutes under the winged disk resemble **470** and **471**, which may represent a late Mitannian style under Assyrian influence. **285** was recut at this time as is shown by the uncanonical, but recognisably mature Assyrian hero, and the still fourteenth century demon.

³⁵ e.g. **129**, **131**, **138**, **161**, **163**, **188**.

³⁶ Cf. in Kepinski 1982, I, 93-4 they both belong to type IV 4.

³⁷ **133**, **145**, **151**, **160**, **162**, **166**, **170**, **186**.

³⁸ **130**, **132**, **133**, **139**, **157**, **161**, **164**, **165**, **166**, **168**, **170**, **171**, **173**, **176**.

³⁹ Saporetti 1979, 60 (KAJ 145).

⁴⁰ Cf. **174**, **175**, **176**.

⁴¹ e.g. 12 Glyptik 28.

⁴² See also the Assur ivories Kepinski 1982, III nos. 414, 415.

⁴³ e.g. **329**, **335**, **424**, **425**, **494**. See Köcher 1957-8 for an inventory which may describe a tree of this kind (Col. 1, 1-16). This inventory describes many fine composite objects which may well have corresponded closely to the animals and trees on the seals.

⁴⁴ **435**, **490**; cf. **191**.

⁴⁵ I use this term of Kepinski's (1982, I, 97-99) for lack of anything better.

⁴⁶ **291**, **414**, **435**, Mayer-Opificius 1986, pl.30:4; **328**, **444**, **448**.

⁴⁷ Perhaps **296-299**, **320**.

⁴⁸ For a possible Mitannian origin compare Geneva 62 with **297**; cf. also **296**. Geneva 62 is evidently in the Mitannian immediately ancestral to Assyrian, as is shown by the swooping bird and the main subject (cf. **301**, 14 Glyptik 40). Indeed it may even be a case where the influence ran the other way, as it is unlike the usual proto-Assyrian seals (e.g. **451-461**, **463-465**, **605**, **606**); but the scene does occur in Nuzi 774 (see Lambert 1987). There is a forgery of Geneva 62 in Cherkasky 60.

4.2.2 *Animals.*

In the fourteenth century Assyrian impressions animals and lions are rare and are usually inverted, being victimised by demons. The exceptions are 284, 294, 298, 328, 384, 14 Glyptik 15, 34.⁴⁹ Of these 294, 298 and 14 Glyptik 15 are on tablets of Parparaiu, who as stated above dates to the end of the fourteenth century, while 328 and 384 were only assigned to the fourteenth century because of the archive number Assur 14446. 284 is on a tablet featuring the merchant Kidin-Adad who was a contemporary of Assuruballit (KAJ 79=166). It is evidently of fourteenth century style because of the volute-tree and the lion-demon, and indeed the lions do not resemble the mature Assyrian rampant lion.⁵⁰ 14 Glyptik 34 is enigmatic in all respects. In Beran's opinion (1957, 163) it shows an elephant. In view of the almost total absence of the elephant from Mesopotamian art (Collon 1977) and its extremely poor state of preservation I am inclined to be sceptical. It is on the same tablet as 502, another unusual seal, but one that should probably be assigned to the thirteenth century because of the clear and simple composition. The tablet is dated to the fourteenth century by Saporetti, but only from the archive number.⁵¹

There is thus a good case for the origin of the main series of Assyrian animals in the last years of the fourteenth century. The same may be true of the standard Assyrian rampant lion, because although the earliest dated case is thirteenth century,⁵² it occurs in 292 which as remarked above should belong to the time immediately after Assuruballit. Unfortunately 298 is the only one of these early dated animals that is reasonably well preserved. It shows an animal with horns of type 7, but it is clear that horns of types 12 (304), 16 (292), 17 (302), and 18 (287, 289, 292, 300) were also current at this time, as was the horse (299). It is a tribute to the extraordinary fecundity of the fourteenth century revolution that no extension of this repertory was considered necessary later when much more use was made of the possibilities of animals.

Assyrian animals could adopt one of four postures, rampant, with a horizontal body, 'falling forward' and hanging vertically downwards. All combinations of posture and horn type were probably possible.⁵³ The position of the head, forwards or backwards, seems to be immaterial.

Lions are nearly always rampant, facing forwards.⁵⁴ There are two distinct types of lion. The more common is a massively constructed beast with an exuberant mane, huge paws and an upright tail (e.g. 399). This standard lion shows remarkably little variation from its origin at the end of the fourteenth century until the twelfth century, when its vigour is undiminished. The other lion is a slender animal without a mane whose tail hangs down or is curled between the hindlegs. This lion usually (where preserved) has the aggressive pointed horns or ears that it inherited from the fourteenth century lion-demon. This 'horned lion' seems to have originated rather later (375, 379, 391) and continued into the twelfth century.⁵⁵ I have been unable to find any difference between the contexts favoured by the two types: if one represents a lion and the other a lioness⁵⁶ this does not seem to have any effect on their behaviour. The winged lion⁵⁷ seems in its 'horns' and lack of mane to correspond more closely to the latter, but of course often has the tail and talons of a bird. This monster is also evenly distributed in time, space and context.

4.2.3 *Animals and Trees.*

There are two common scenes involving animals and trees. Either there are two animals flanking a tree, or one animal facing a tree. Neither of these scenes occurs in the fourteenth or the twelfth century,⁵⁸ but they both appear frequently in the thirteenth century, at Assur and in the west. When there are two animals they are nearly always rampant,⁵⁹ while if there is one it usually has a horizontal body, whether pacing or leaping.⁶⁰

⁴⁹ Apart from Mitannian animals flanking a tree in a secondary scene: 459, 606, 14 Glyptik 90 as 616, 619, 620.

⁵⁰ Perhaps better compare the equally unusual Second Kassite 153?

⁵¹ Assur 14446 ao: Saporetti 1979, 42. According to Pedersen (1985, 91) it might be dated to Shalmaneser I or Tukulti-Ninurta I, or alternatively it might involve a brother of Kidin-Adad.

⁵² 351, Adad-nirari: Saporetti 1979, 60 (KAJ 307).

⁵³ Though one or two combinations are missing. Horns 17, however, is so common rampant and horizontal that its absence in the other attitudes may be significant.

⁵⁴ Exceptions: e.g. 362, 383, 384, 424, 535, Iraq 39-1, Fakhariyah XV?

⁵⁵ 383, 386, 442, 12 Glyptik 9; cf. also 384, 387, 390, 414-417.

⁵⁶ Moortgat 1942, 62. The fourteenth century lion-demon was probably female, to judge from 285, which would strengthen the association with Lamashtu proposed by Porada (1974/7, 137). This may be true of Assyrian demons generally, as the griffin-demon has nipples in 300 and no doubt 299 (cf. Porada 1970, 22, 43). But the criterion may be doubted as the latter cases are dressed in the same way as the Assyrian hero and nipples are marked on the man in 349. So far as one can tell from publications, they are not usually shown in the nude female, with a few exceptions such as Collon BAR 47.

⁵⁷ 295, 345, 364, 372, 373, 480, 13 Glyptik 24, Moortgat Festschrift 8, Moortgat-Correns 1964, pl.21:2, VR D5, Weber 35.

⁵⁸ Except perhaps 298, 302.

⁵⁹ Except 448.

⁶⁰ Except 406, 407, 445, Fakhariyah XXI.

The most common tree between a pair of animals is the globular twisted tree on a hill.⁶¹ 445 is the sole case of a single animal with a twisted tree on a hill, but we have already seen that the body angle is unusual here. The other trees in this context are the palm,⁶² the garland-tree,⁶³ and an indeterminate tall straight-trunked tree (326, 327).

When there is only one animal, we find that the tree is usually either a bush-like plant, often with a twisted trunk, *not* on a hill,⁶⁴ or a tree with spreading branches and a straight or curving trunk, again not on a hill,⁶⁵ though the garland tree occurs in 335 and what appears to be a kind of volute-tree in 344. Thus of nineteen cases of animals flanking a tree, twelve have either a palm or a globular tree on a hill (only five certainly have neither), while in sixteen seals the animals are rampant.⁶⁶ Meanwhile of twenty-four seals with a single animal only one has either a palm or a twisted tree on a hill, and in only four cases is the body not horizontal.

Now though the difference in body angle may be explained by geometrical factors, as a rampant body takes up less space than a horizontal one and is thus more suitable where there are two animals, no such consideration will account for the difference in the trees. The palm and the globular tree on a hill thus define a group. We have already seen that the palm originated at the end of the fourteenth century. The tree on a hill is found in the datable impressions 314, 317, 410, 431 (Assur) and 316, 319, 324 (Rimah). Of these the first two date to Adad-nirari or Shalmaneser, 431 to Adad-nirari, 319 to Shalmaneser, and 410 and 316 to Tukulti-Ninurta. 324 may date to Adad-nirari (Saporetti 1979, 103: TR 3001, 3002). 314, if dated to Shalmaneser, probably belongs to the first half of his reign, because the tablet involves Assur-aha-iddina.⁶⁷ 319, on the other hand, should be dated later in the reign because it is contemporary with Assur-aha-iddina's grandson Urad-Sherua.⁶⁸ Given that the number of designs datable to Adad-nirari is small and that we should expect some continuation into the following reign, it is reasonable to date the tree on a hill to Adad-nirari. This leaves 316 and 410 with the only seriously anomalous dates,⁶⁹ and of these 410 probably is later than Adad-nirari because the hill is vestigial.

As for the seals with a single animal, 336, 13 Glyptik 40 and 42 date to Shalmaneser, while 407 probably belongs late in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta.⁷⁰ A single seal, 338, corresponds to Assur-aha-iddina in the reigns of Adad-nirari and Shalmaneser.⁷¹ The impression on the tablet Hallo 1973, LB 2532 is dated to Shalmaneser.⁷² Given the rarity of this scene at Rimah it is surprising to find how prominent it is at Fakhariyah.⁷³ Fakhariyah is too far west for Assyrian rule to have started early in the thirteenth century,⁷⁴ and the only dated design is probably late in Tukulti-Ninurta's reign.⁷⁵ If scenes with a horizontal animal but no tree or plant are taken into account, we can add an impression of a seal of Shalmaneser's chancellor Babu-aha-iddina, 360; an impression dated late in Tukulti-Ninurta's reign, 13 Glyptik 41;⁷⁶ and 12 Glyptik 21.

There can thus be little doubt that the seals with a single animal should be dated later than those with two animals, and in general that one belongs to Adad-nirari I and the other to Shalmaneser I. Because both series are quite large this difference provides a sound basis on which to build a picture of the beginning of mature Assyrian glyptic.

⁶¹ 319-322, 432; also variants and poorly preserved cases: 323, 324, 330, 331, 332, 431.

⁶² 325; also with monkeys, 303, 519.

⁶³ 328, 329, cf. 448.

⁶⁴ 338, 340-343, 359, 406, 407, 439, 13 Glyptik 40, 42, BM 102507, Fakhariyah XXI, XXII, XXIII. An early case of this plant occurs in 322, with two animals.

⁶⁵ 333, 334, 336, 337, BN 304, Ash 571.

⁶⁶ Not counting the monkeys.

⁶⁷ Pedersen 1985, 100 (M10:57). Another unpublished impression on an Assur-aha-iddina tablet, KAJ 76, kindly shown to me by Mr. Postgate, has two bulls flanking a palm tree.

⁶⁸ TR 3027 with *limmu* Lulaiu, as also KAJ 48 which is an Urad-Sherua tablet (Saporetti 1979, 93). Note however that Assur-aha-iddina's career overlaps with that of Urad-Sherua, as KAJ 83 and 113, involving them respectively, both have the *limmu* Mushallim-Assur (Saporetti 1979, 87-8; Pedersen 1985, 100-1 (M10:30, 5)).

⁶⁹ Also 325, a Tukulti-Ninurta tablet with two animals flanking a palm.

⁷⁰ Saporetti 1979, 117 (TR 3013). An unpublished design on KAJ 111, kindly shown to me by Mr. Postgate, is dated to Tukulti-Ninurta (Saporetti 1979, 116).

⁷¹ Pedersen 1985, 100: M10:63. 13 Glyptik 40 is also on an Assur-aha-iddina tablet, but it is the one referred to above as contemporary with his grandson Urad-Sherua (KAJ 83).

⁷² Saporetti 1979, 81-2, whichever Ishtar-erish. This impression was made by 333 or an almost identical seal: see Hallo 1973.

⁷³ Fakhariyah XXI-XXIII, perhaps also XXVIII, XXIX, 408.

⁷⁴ Note that unlike Rimah there are no impressions of fourteenth century style. Indeed in general the two sites have nothing in common giving no basis to postulate a 'western style'.

⁷⁵ Saporetti 1979, 116 (F269): Fakhariyah XXI.

⁷⁶ Pedersen 1985, 101 (M10:39), involves a son of Urad-Sherua.

4.2.4 Early thirteenth century scenes.

Starting with scenes involving animals and trees, we have found that they belong to two groups, according to the number of animals. These groups are distinct because they use different kinds of tree, and one is earlier than the other. The earlier group is characterised by the use of the twisted globular tree on a hill and by the palm. Using this criterion we can investigate other scenes of this time.

Some of the designs with animals flanking a tree also include a man dominating one or both of them.⁷⁷ The latter cases make use of the familiar fourteenth century syntax (cf. 278, 284) but with new elements. The Assyrian hero, with short kilt and tassels between his legs, originated as we have seen at the end of the fourteenth century (292), but only now in the time of Adad-nirari attained the importance that he was to possess for the rest of the Middle Assyrian period.

The same is true of the lion, which combines with the twisted tree on a hill in 317, 318, 319 and 434. In all of these the lion rears over an animal with a terminal tree.⁷⁸ 12 Glyptik 14 and Iraq 39-25 may be other cases, but their trees are poorly preserved. In 437, on the other hand, there is a different and distinctive tree, which also occurs in 336, 337, 506 and 517. As two of these show a single horizontal animal this tree should be dated to Shalmaneser, with 437 as the latest example of the scene with lion, animal and tree. As the palm tree does not continue after the Adad-nirari period, it is possible that this tree is a development of it.

In 517 the tree is flanked by animals and should thus belong to the earlier group. However the animals have horns of type 7, instead of the usual type 17, and do not constitute the main scene in the design, so this is probably another case of later development. The main scene is composed of two humans in a ritual attitude. The ritual scenes are discussed elsewhere, but it should be noted that many of them belong to the early thirteenth century. The favourite tree here is the palm.⁷⁹ Of these 489 is on KAJ 8, dated to the end of the fourteenth century (see above). 492 is assigned to the later thirteenth century by Saporetti (1979, 105: KAJ 88), but is probably made with an earlier seal as the griffin-demons have volutes on their necks rather than feathers (Mayer-Opificius 1986, 162). Otherwise the ritual series has some nondescript trees,⁸⁰ a garland-tree⁸¹ and, in 513, a twisted tree which is not set on a hill.⁸² This should indicate a later date for it, but unlike most twisted trees of full height without a hill⁸² this one does not have a compact globular crown and does have short offshoots from the trunk like the plants that usually sprout from 'hills'. In view of the close relation between this seal and 509 and 511, which have a palm, they should all be dated together.

We thus find that the palm usually occurs in the early thirteenth century either between two rampant animals or monkeys, or more commonly in the ritual series, while the twisted tree on a hill frequently appears flanked by animals but not in the ritual series.⁸³

The most important other scene featuring the twisted tree on a hill is where a kneeling archer aims at an animal on the other side of the tree.⁸⁴ 313 and 314 are both on tablets of Assur-aha-iddina in the early thirteenth century.⁸⁵ The only cases of scenes with archers and a tree where the tree is not of this kind are 352, 424 and Ash 572. 352, though certainly of Assyrian inspiration, is a provincial piece, as is shown by the heavy linear engraving and the clumsy arm of the archer. Ash 572, however, should not be counted as Assyrian, except at several removes. It belongs to a late Syrian group with archers facing each other, and was bought in Syria.⁸⁶ 424 has a fine garland-tree. We have already encountered this tree occasionally in early thirteenth century seals,⁸⁷ but as it occurs in the twelfth century impression 425⁸⁸ this is not a reason to assign 424 to that period. The seal has several unusual features⁸⁹ and is on tablets dated to late in Tukulti-Ninurta's reign.⁹⁰

⁷⁷ 329-332. Walters 33 looks like a forgery. 12 Glyptik 5 should not be included in this series because it does not have the usual rampant animals with horns 17; moreover the hero is of late appearance with his bushy hair and the presence of a tree is uncertain.

⁷⁸ Except 319 where the tree is also the centre of antithetic animals.

⁷⁹ 489, 492, 505, 509, 511, 514; cf. 519, 520.

⁸⁰ 13 Glyptik 72, 12 Glyptik 35.

⁸¹ Mayer-Opificius 1986, pl.30:4.

⁸² 342, 343, 429, BM 89557, Marcopoli 139.

⁸³ Except perhaps as just noted 513, and 508. This latter is quite unique, but may represent either a pastoral or a ritual scene. Compare the impression 507 with a pastoral interpretation in Parker 1974, changed to a ritual one in Parker 1977, 257 n1; and cf. Moortgat-Correns 1964, 169-70, fig.3 (405).

⁸⁴ 311, 314; in 312 and 313 the hill is not preserved.

⁸⁵ Pedersen 1985, 100 (M10:57, 53); 312 is on a tablet of Darius!

⁸⁶ Also 569, 570, Nimrud ND 5363.

⁸⁷ e.g. 329, Mayer-Opificius 1986, pl.30:4.

⁸⁸ Which should not be treated as a stray, because of the winged bull and the winged disk.

⁸⁹ The archer is standing and aims at a lion, not an animal; the lion has a horizontal body.

⁹⁰ Saporetti 1979, 117 (KAJ 103, 106). Mr. Postgate tells me that the 'debtor' on the tablets, Ehlipi, is named in the inscription on the seal. This could be a secondary addition but it makes it more likely that the seal is contemporary with the tablets.

The remaining scenes with a twisted tree on a hill have two lions flanking it (430) and a man subduing an animal beside it (315, 316). The former is unique and as it has no special traits is difficult to assess. The latter scene seems to be a local speciality at Rimah, as its only other occurrences are 433 and Iraq 39-22.⁹¹ 433, with a garland-tree, is dated to Shalmaneser⁹² and 316 to late in Tukulti-Ninurta's reign (Saporetti 1979, 116-7 (TR 2908)). Nonetheless the original seals should all be dated to Adad-nirari,⁹³ except Iraq 39-22, which has an animal 'falling forward' and what looks like a bush, both later attributes.

4.2.5 Symbols.

Assyrian seals make extensive use of symbols, small self-contained objects which bear no direct relation to the main scene. In this they resemble First Kassite, but in Assyria the symbols were more consistently concentrated along the upper edge of the seal. This may be because they have an astral meaning (e.g. the sun, the moon, the planet Venus, the Pleiades). Alternatively as Assyrian designs normally have horizontal or diagonal main figures, while in First Kassite the main figures are always vertical, more space is naturally left clear for symbols at the top.

Much the most common symbols are the star and the crescent, which appear, often together, on seals of every period from the later fourteenth century. The star usually has six or eight points, but I have been unable to find any consistent pattern in this difference.⁹⁴ The other symbols may be divided into an early group and a late group. Most Assyrian seals do not show more than three or four symbols (and often fewer), but there are convenient compendia of the two series in 436 and 533. Both of these show the star and the crescent, but they have nothing else in common. 436 has the cross, the disk, the 'stirrup' and the swooping bird (also some very unusual (?)fish); 533 has the seven dots, the omega, and the bident.⁹⁵ The only important missing symbols are the 'fuzzy disk' and the winged disk. The former belongs to the earlier series, the latter to both the fourteenth and the twelfth but not the thirteenth century.⁹⁶

As a general rule the five symbols of the early series do not coincide with the three later ones. In 522 the 'stirrup' combines with the omega, and in 374 it combines with the seven dots. In this latter case it is hard to be sure which symbols are original and which are neo-Assyrian interpolations, but the seven dots could be original.⁹⁷ In both of these seals the 'stirrup' is of an unusually elaborate form not otherwise known which therefore seems to be a later type. In another recut seal, 491, the cross and rhomb are surely additions, perhaps of a modern forger, while the dots may also be interpolated because of the presence of the disk, an early symbol.

The date of the change from one series to the other (which is then the date of 374 and 522) is best assessed from the earliest appearance of the younger series. This should be placed in the thirteenth century because the omega and perhaps the seven dots occur at Fakhariyah (XXXIX, 398, 400, 367?). None of the younger symbols appears at Rimah. This archive contains tablets dated to Tukulti-Ninurta but not enough confidently to assert a negative. At Assur, there are omegas in 446 and 402, the latter dated late in Tukulti-Ninurta's reign.⁹⁸ The seven dots and the bident are not found among the Assur impressions, but the latter is present in the Middle Assyrian impression on the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon (536), which has an affinity to one of the Tukulti-Ninurta symbol-bases.⁹⁹ The indications are thus that the change took place in this reign, and this is confirmed by the continued prevalence of the earlier series of symbols on the 'animal and tree' scenes which I have assigned to Shalmaneser (333 - 338). Furthermore none of the earlier symbols appears in the twelfth century impressions, except the swooping bird in 389. This seal could belong to the time of Tukulti-Ninurta (cf. 391).

⁹¹ Cf. also 291.

⁹² Saporetti 1979, 77-8 (TR 2086).

⁹³ 315 and 316 because of the hill, 433 because of the 'stirrup-symbol' and the hero's hairstyle: see below and Mayer-Opificius 1986, 164.

⁹⁴ Ritual designs appear to favour eight points, but 502 and 503 are exceptions.

⁹⁵ On this seal the bident is held by the god as an attributive symbol. Usually it occurs free in the field (399, 403, 404).

⁹⁶ Mayer-Opificius 1984, 197, with one or two doubtful exceptions: she cites 479, which could be fourteenth century; cf. also 443, 480, 519, 532.

⁹⁷ The 'stirrup' is not a neo-Assyrian symbol, while the rhomb and the winged disk are certainly additions.

⁹⁸ Pedersen 1985, 101 (M10:39). The tablet features the great-grandson of Assur-aha-iddina.

⁹⁹ Wiseman 1958, 19-22, fig.6. Boehmer's opinion (1975, 353, fig.105c) that the mitres are the result of neo-Assyrian recutting seems sound to me (I know of no second millennium parallels for them), and indeed might be extended to much of the rest of the design, including perhaps the bident, which is not of the normal form. This seal should not be counted as a recut seal of Shagaraktishuriash: note especially that the inscription, which is the most worn and thus presumably the oldest part of the design, mentions the god Assur. See Watanabe 1985, 384-7.

This rather thin dating evidence for the later series should not cause concern. There are fewer items than in the earlier, and impressions are never good for symbols as the edges are rarely preserved. Moreover the earlier series was more intensively used than the later. There are about thirty known designs with three or more symbols, and only seven of these belong to the later period.¹⁰⁰

The earlier symbols thus belong for the most part to Adad-nirari and Shalmaneser. All of them interact with each other, except the 'fuzzy disk' never combines with either the disk or the swooping bird. This may not be significant as it is a rare symbol, but it may have been an alternative to the disk. These interactions mean that we should not expect to divide them into separate groups, but it is worth looking at where the emphasis lies between the two reigns.

The *swooping bird* was invented in the fourteenth century.¹⁰¹ It occurs in the latest fourteenth century¹⁰² and in the Adad-nirari period (e.g. 434), but is most common in 'animal and tree' designs in the middle of the century.¹⁰³ It probably survived into the late thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴

The *disk* existed in a simple form in the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁵ In the thirteenth it was elaborated either into the 'fuzzy disk'¹⁰⁶ or into the round disk with a superimposed cross or star. The 'fuzzy disk' is much the less common form. In 502 and 503 it occurs in the ritual series, but in 313 and 323 we find it in clear examples of the Adad-nirari style. 480 is very difficult to date but from the winged disk it should be either very early or very late thirteenth century. It thus seems not unreasonable to restrict the 'fuzzy disk' to Adad-nirari's reign. The other disk was already in existence at this time,¹⁰⁷ but continued into the reign of Shalmaneser (336, 340, 439). There is no reason to suppose that it continued thereafter.

The *'stirrup'* symbol has already been identified as an early feature by Mayer-Opificius.¹⁰⁸ The Assur draughtsman seems not to have recognised it on several occasions resulting in unclear drawings.¹⁰⁹ 286, if I understand it correctly, attests the origin of the symbol at the end of the fourteenth century, and we have already noted its latest occurrence in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta (374, 522). It is found at Assur and Rimah but not at Fakhariyah. 313 and 314 show the Adad-nirari archery scene, while 330 shows it with the flanking animals of the same period.

In 305 and 433 it combines with a man having a distinctive hairstyle in two locks which is another of Mayer-Opificius' early criteria.¹¹⁰ In 316 and 332 this hairstyle combines with a tree on a hill, so it should be assigned to the Adad-nirari period. It occurs a few times in ritual scenes¹¹¹ and in some very unusual seals, 305, 306 and 308. Owing to the rarity of this hairstyle all of its cases should be dated to Adad-nirari. 306 thus corresponds in time roughly to the Kassite ploughing scene, 156, on a tablet of Nazi-Maruttash, an elder contemporary of Adad-nirari. 308 should be compared to the equally unusual seals 310¹¹² and 309, which seems to have the hairstyle. These seals illustrate the imaginative range of the early mature Assyrian artists.

Assigning this hairstyle to Adad-nirari implies that the stirrup, an equally rare trait, should also usually be assigned to this reign, as most of its cases can then be linked to Adad-nirari features. This raises the question of its role in Shalmaneser's time as we have evidence that it survived into the following reign. As the stirrup never occurs in an 'animal and tree' scene it seems probable that it was already rare in Shalmaneser's day, but some of the seals that are not directly linked to the Adad-nirari period may belong to this time.¹¹³

The *cross* has two forms in Assyria. Normally it is a simple cross with slightly widened ends, but in a few

¹⁰⁰ 367, 374, 388, 390, 425, 500, 533. Not all of these include any of the symbols discussed.

¹⁰¹ 301. It may be derived from such Kirkuk Mitannian seals as 620, Nuzi 731. 287, 479 and Geneva 62 have birds which may represent other experiments on similar lines which failed to take flight.

¹⁰² 292. The duplication, not usual in the thirteenth century, shows that the form was not yet settled; cf. 350.

¹⁰³ e.g. 334, 338, 13 Glyptik 41, BN 304.

¹⁰⁴ e.g. 389, Iraq 39-9.

¹⁰⁵ 288, 489, 14 Glyptik 41.

¹⁰⁶ Unless this is a kind of star.

¹⁰⁷ 332; for the contemporaneity compare especially 313 with 314.

¹⁰⁸ 1986, 162. Could it represent a local god at Assur such as Kubi? - but the onomastic predominance of this god is earlier than the time of Adad-nirari (Fine 1954, 116, 132).

¹⁰⁹ e.g. 286, 438: in the latter case Moortgat (1942, 53) thought it was a shield, perhaps confusing it with the enigmatic object in 13 Glyptik 1.

¹¹⁰ 1986, 161. As she says these may be either hair or an attachment to the cap. It may be that this, like the period of Gudea, was one of the times in Mesopotamian history when the advantages of not having hair, which requires attention and is liable to populousness, were appreciated. Cf. 313, 314, 502.

¹¹¹ 503, 504, 521, Mayer-Opificius 1986, pl.30:4.

¹¹² On the same tablet as the Adad-nirari style design 330.

¹¹³ 436, 438, Iraq 39-13. 438 is on a Shalmaneser tablet (Saporetti 1979, 83: KAJ 72) but note that the hero may well be 'bald'.

¹¹⁴ 346, Brussels 454, BM 102507.

cases there are wavy 'rays' as well.¹¹⁴ The cross is first found in 476¹¹⁵ but as it occurs in 'animal and tree' scenes it should normally be assigned to Shalmaneser. In the ritual design 506 it combines with the tree which we have assigned to Shalmaneser, and the only seal with Adad-nirari features that bears it is 502.¹¹⁶

Like the stirrup it occurs on some very unusual designs. In 355 we find it with a leaping centaur. Although this seal has no Kassite features it is usually classified as such, so I shall justify my position in some detail.¹¹⁷ The argument is that the cross and the centaur are both Babylonian. The Assyrian crosses have a distinctive form, found in 355 and the other examples cited here. This form does not occur in Babylonia. As for the monster, there are good Assyrian centaurs in the twelfth century (409, 12 Glyptik 43, 44), but these are striding, whereas the Babylonian example is leaping.¹¹⁸ However both the twelfth century Assyrian centaurs and the Babylonian ones are all sagittarii with bows. The centaur with a sword occurs in the Rimah impression 371, dated probably to the beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign (Saporetti 1979, 106-7: TR 2903), and in 393 (though a lion-centaur) which has never been described as Kassite.¹¹⁹ The leaping posture is commonplace in 'animal and tree' scenes.¹²⁰ Although the scorpion tail occurs in 161 and on the kudurrus it is more common in Assyrian monsters than Kassite.¹²¹ The style shows the rounded modelling typical of the best Assyrian glyptic, and not the delicately linear or flat plane engraving of Kassite seals. There can be no doubt that 355 is Assyrian, and only the tumbling animals cast a small query over a date in Shalmaneser's reign (cf. 421).

The cross is found in a pastoral scene in BM 89601. The obvious parallel, 507, is dated to Shalmaneser or Tukulti-Ninurta (Saporetti 1979, 99: TR 2059). Another unusual case is 435. The distinctive kind of garland-tree there is also found in 490, which may conceivably date to Adad-nirari¹²² and is in any case likely to belong to the earlier thirteenth century because of the design of 324 on the same tablet. The standard Assyrian cross thus seems to be securely dated to Shalmaneser, perhaps slightly overlapping the two adjacent reigns.

4.3 Shalmaneser I.

4.3.1 *Naturalistic scenes.*

The most striking aspect of the style of Adad-nirari I is its naturalism, in contrast to the almost entirely fabulous repertory of the fourteenth century. In all of the fourteenth century impressions of Assyrian style, only 293, 298, 474, 489 do not include either a demon or a monster.¹²³ In the reign of Adad-nirari there are only a few cases, insecurely dated.¹²⁴ By the twelfth century fantastic creatures are once more prominent, though unlike the fourteenth century monsters are now more common than demons. This revival began in Shalmaneser's time, but remained limited in scope at first.

We have already seen some features of the reign of Shalmaneser, notably the 'animal and tree' scene, the cross, and the tree of 437, 506, etc. We have assigned several impressions on Shalmaneser tablets to the period of Adad-nirari, so all of the others should be counted as contemporary with their texts. Nearly all Adad-nirari designs included a tree, either as a terminal or as a centrepiece. In the 'animal and tree' series the tree retained its importance in Shalmaneser's reign, but it was no longer usually included in contest scenes. These instead became more inward-looking, particularly in the 'triangular' format (Mayer-Opificius 1986, 162) which was to be one of the most successful Assyrian arrangements. This involved a rejection of the fourteenth century tradition of running a scene onto itself round the back of the seal. The 'triangular' scene displays a tentative and experimental nature during this reign and only achieved its classic form in Tukulti-Ninurta's time.

¹¹⁵ Cf. perhaps 451 - more likely an inscription?

¹¹⁶ With bald head and 'fuzzy disk'.

¹¹⁷ Beran 1957-8, 270-1 correctly cites mainly Assyrian parallels, none very specific, and counts it as Second Kassite dated to the time of Tukulti-Ninurta. Boehmer (1975, 349, pl. 269f), Frankfort (1939, xxxiv, pl. XXXIf (de Clercq 363, not 263)) and van Buren (1954a, 33) offer the same view, but Amiet (1973, 162, no. 458) compares it to the fourteenth century Assyrian style while still calling it Kassite (although in the fourteenth century the Second Kassite impression 161 is the closest parallel). It is 'Kassite' also in Seidl 1968, 176-7.

¹¹⁸ 161; also on the kudurrus: Seidl 1968, 176-7. But the kudurrus in general bear very little relation to Kassite glyptic - see p. 81f. The cross only occurs once in the 91 second millennium kudurrus catalogued by Seidl (1968, 204 and no. 5).

¹¹⁹ Mr. Postgate thought that 13 Glyptik 19 showed a centaur while he was preparing an edition of the tablet. However he did not have this problem in view at the time and would not want the identification to be considered certain. The tablet is also dated to the beginning of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign (Saporetti 1979, 125-6 (KAJ 110)) and the published drawing could be restored in this way.

¹²⁰ e.g. 340, 341, 439, cf. 360.

¹²¹ e.g. 368, 394, 401, 423, 13 Glyptik 24.

¹²² Saporetti 1979, 103: TR 3001, 3002.

¹²³ Demons have human bodies, monsters have animal bodies, after Porada (1948a, xxiv). 328, 384, 14 Glyptik 34 may not be fourteenth century.

¹²⁴ 435, 480, 490, 491, 492. Some or all of these may belong to Shalmaneser, but 480 has a 'fuzzy disk' and a winged disk, 491 and 492 have a palm tree, 435 resembles 490 which shares a tablet with an Adad-nirari design.

In Adad-nirari contests the second antagonist was always an animal, whether attacked by a human or a lion. The 'triangular' scene allowed the two scenarios to be combined. 351 and 438 may be among the earliest cases, the former with a stirrup symbol¹²⁵ and the latter on a tablet possibly datable to Adad-nirari.¹²⁶ 13 Glyptik 12 is another somewhat clumsy experiment.¹²⁷ In 13 Glyptik 1 we find a curious object, thought by Moortgat to be perhaps a rope or a net.¹²⁸ This supplies a link to 349 (Moortgat 1942, 54) and Iraq 39-5.¹²⁹ 350 and 443 show a similar scene, but the latter is possibly later as the 'triangular' form is now assured and the hero has the full late hair and beard.¹³⁰

There is another variant of the scene with a human, an animal and a lion in Moore 80, which is conceptually similar to the masterpiece 361, though with different elements. The hero in Moore 80 wields an axe, which is otherwise known in 345, 433 and 440.¹³¹ 345 shows a winged lion similar to 480, which we dated tentatively to Adad-nirari. The monkey is another apparently early trait, and so is the rampant animal with horns of type 17. However the rather experimental appearance of the tree, unlike the handsome palm of the earlier period, and the subsidiary role of the animal may indicate that the seal belongs later. 440 should certainly be dated to Shalmaneser because the animal is so similar to 338. We have already dated 433 to Adad-nirari. It thus looks as though the axe is typical of the first half of the thirteenth century, but as the style of Moore 80 is unusual it may not belong here.¹³²

There are also scenes from Shalmaneser's reign with an animal attacked by a man.¹³³ In these the man is an archer and the body of the animal is horizontal. Other designs with this contest where the body is not horizontal are probably later.¹³⁴ The absence of the tree which distinguished these seals from those of Adad-nirari also applies to the scene with an animal attacked by a lion,¹³⁵ and again the horizontal body is not shared by later cases.¹³⁶

13 Glyptik 59 and 61 are designs showing a hero holding two animals by the hindlegs, both dated to Shalmaneser. There is a series of these designs.¹³⁷ 404 belongs to a Tukulti-Ninurta workshop discussed below, so the series should be spread over the two reigns.

4.3.2 *Fantastic Scenes.*

13 Glyptik 8 is dated to Adad-nirari or Shalmaneser.¹³⁸ The design belongs to a small group of seals where a man in an attitude of combat is accompanied by other elements which appear to pay no attention to him, in this case animals with horns of types 7 and 16. 426 may be later because of the hero's dress; other seals show the man combined with a griffin. 12 Glyptik 8 shows this scene in the twelfth century, while Iraq 39-33 is dated to Shalmaneser (Saporetti 1979, 93: TR 3003). Iraq 39-9 may be another case, but is difficult to reconstruct. The coherence of this group is open to question.

12 Glyptik 26 is, as Moortgat appreciated (1944, 33), a thirteenth century design,¹³⁹ but one that foreshadows later developments. The irregular bush, however, is typical of Shalmaneser's reign, and the early occurrence of the motif is confirmed by 422.¹⁴⁰ The frontal face of this sphinx may indicate that VR 580 should also be dated to this time; it may have had a small plant as well. Unfortunately the head of 12 Glyptik 26 is not preserved, but there is no known case of a pacing griffin.¹⁴¹

¹²⁵ Though on a Shalmaneser tablet: Saporetti 1979, 83 (KAJ 72).

¹²⁶ Pedersen 1985, 90-1 (M9:35).

¹²⁷ Shalmaneser: Saporetti 1979, 80 (KAJ 124a).

¹²⁸ 1942, 52, rejected by Parker (1977, 259, no. 5). Compare the object in 433 described by Parker as an axe-holder (1977, 263), cf. in other styles 468 and 495.

¹²⁹ 13 Glyptik 1 dates to Shalmaneser: Saporetti 1979, 87 (KAJ 113), Iraq 39-5 to Tukulti-Ninurta: Saporetti 1979, 119.

¹³⁰ There appears to be a winged disk on this seal: the very unusual shape, with a prominent tail (cf. 532) may be the consequence of the unfamiliarity of the symbol, in the thirteenth century.

¹³¹ Also 536, but in such a different context that it may be part of the neo-Assyrian recutting.

¹³² The four-winged demon of 361 supplies another argument: see below.

¹³³ 352, 354, 440, 13 Glyptik 13, Moortgat Festschrift 10.

¹³⁴ 346, 403, 444, Marcopoli 137, VR 594.

¹³⁵ 13 Glyptik 34-36, all dated to Shalmaneser; 347, Iraq 39-38, early in Tukulti-Ninurta's reign; 348.

¹³⁶ 385, 391, dated to Tukulti-Ninurta; 386-390, 441, 446, Iraq 39-4.

¹³⁷ 404, 427, Damascus 53, Surkh Dum 35, Layard 2-13.

¹³⁸ Saporetti 1979, 63: KAJ 76. As the man does not have the Adad-nirari hairstyle the later king may be preferable; on the other hand another impression on this tablet, shown to me by Mr. Postgate, has animals flanking a palm tree.

¹³⁹ Shalmaneser, Saporetti 1979, 75: KAJ 49.

¹⁴⁰ Dated to an early year of Tukulti-Ninurta: Saporetti 1979, 124: TR 2014.

¹⁴¹ 423 is the nearest to one, but there the body is angled downwards. Cf. in the fourteenth century, 295, a winged lion.

Iraq 39-26 and 362 are other forward-looking Shalmaneser designs. The former is a chariot scene, regrettably very badly preserved; its only Assyrian parallel is 421. The latter shows a lion and a *griffin-demon* fighting over an animal. The griffin-demon is not a new creature - it is common in the fourteenth century - but it went out of common use in Adad-nirari's time. Indeed there is only one thirteenth century example from Assur, 492, and there are very few cases on actual seals of mature style.¹⁴² However there are four impressions from Fakhariyah and from Rimah, where the tradition may have come down directly from the fourteenth century (451, Iraq 39-15E). In the fourteenth century the griffin-demon possessed two contexts, either in a ritual scene¹⁴³ or as a predatory demon (282, 283, 300). The ritual scene was more common, and was to become so again in the twelfth century. In Shalmaneser's reign we have 490, 492 and perhaps 491 in this category.¹⁴⁴ The only contest scene is 362.¹⁴⁵

In Tukulti-Ninurta's reign the contest seems to have become briefly predominant. It is instructive to compare 363 (Fakhariyah) with 362 (Rimah), as they have identical elements. As the Rimah demon has a volute on its neck while the Fakhariyah one has feathers (Mayer-Opificius 1986, 162) it is safe to count the former as earlier. The 'triangular' contest appears in classic form in the Fakhariyah seal, while in the Rimah design it is still rather experimental. The horizontal lion and vertical animal are both in very unusual attitudes, and comparison with Iraq 39-1, also dated to Shalmaneser, shows that, unlike the Fakhariyah scene, the griffin-demon is not essential to the construction. The Tukulti-Ninurta contest appears again in 395 (and probably 369); the only ritual scene with this demon in the later thirteenth century is 493.¹⁴⁶

We thus have the ostrich, the griffin, the sphinx, the winged lion, the centaur, the winged human and the griffin-demon all probably attested in the reign of Shalmaneser.¹⁴⁷ This is almost the complete repertory of the Tukulti-Ninurta period, except for the fighting animal and the winged animal, and testifies to the fecundity of a reign which saw some of the best Assyrian glyptic. This summit is best illustrated by the seals of Babu-ah-iddina, but before discussing them I wish to reject Mayer-Opificius' view (1986, 162-3) that the distinctive curls attached to animal bodies on some Assyrian seals are a criterion for the reigns of Adad-nirari and Shalmaneser.

As she says, they occur on 626.¹⁴⁸ They are not found in the main fourteenth century Assyrian series,¹⁴⁹ but reappear at the end of the century in 287, 289 and 299.¹⁵⁰

Curls continue to occur occasionally in Adad-nirari designs,¹⁵¹ and in Shalmaneser's reign in 'animal and tree' scenes (337, 338). These curls are particularly broad and open, and the close resemblance between the last two seals and 339¹⁵² dates this very curious seal to this reign as well. It is the only Assyrian instance of the Second Kassite 'chthonic god', but he holds branches¹⁵³ rather than streams.¹⁵⁴

The use of curls is certainly attested in the twelfth century by 394 and 12 Glyptik 44, and in consequence there is no reason to deny their existence in Tukulti-Ninurta's reign as well. This is confirmed by the feathers on the necks of the monsters in 369. In 370 and 376 we have mature 'triangular' contests of a kind more typical of Tukulti-Ninurta than of Shalmaneser, and in both the curls are on a winged bull, a later innovation.

¹⁴² 369, 493; 491?

¹⁴³ 461, 463, 465, 487.

¹⁴⁴ All of these seals, as mentioned above, could belong rather to Adad-nirari. 490 is similar to 435 which has the cross, a Shalmaneser criterion, but shares a tablet with the Adad-nirari design 324. 492 belongs to a tablet of Shalmaneser or Tukulti-Ninurta (Saporetti 1979, 105: KAJ 88), but has a palm tree and apparently a volute on the demon's neck. 491 is dated to the first half of the century by the disk, but the demon may not be original.

¹⁴⁵ Shalmaneser: Saporetti 1979, 93 (TR 2015, 3011).

¹⁴⁶ Unless this highly unusual seal is twelfth century. The only parallel for the action is 488, but the Morgan seal cannot be earlier than Tukulti-Ninurta because of the neck feathers. I date 369 by comparison with 395, but the sword at waist level is closer to 366. An unusual detail of 369 and 493 is the very fine detail of the feathers: this also occurs in 395, and in 396 which I shall date below to Tukulti-Ninurta.

¹⁴⁷ Ostrich: 349; Griffin: 325, Iraq 39-33; Sphinx: 422; Winged Lion: probably 345 (372 and 13 Glyptik 24 and are imprecisely dated); Centaur: 355, 371; Winged Human: 357, 358 (see below); Griffin-Demon: 362; cf. the extraordinary horse-lion of 356.

¹⁴⁸ Also some other fine local Kirkuk designs: 468, 624, Nuzi 727, 728.

¹⁴⁹ Though cf. the tufts in 476, 477, 486.

¹⁵⁰ Mayer-Opificius 1986, 163 seems to place 289 in the thirteenth century on this basis. This seal cannot be separated from 288, on a tablet of Parparaiu (KAJ 233) who probably dates to the end of the fourteenth century (see above). The demons in 288 and 289 are in the fourteenth century tradition (cf. 279) and the volute-tree of 289 did not survive into the thirteenth century either.

¹⁵¹ 311; unpublished impression on KAJ 76, shown to me by Mr. Postgate.

¹⁵² Especially the use of haematite in both 337 and 339: this is rare in Middle Assyrian.

¹⁵³ Like the Assur cult-relief Andrae 1977, 166 fig.144 and the fine Mitannian seal from Syria, 462.

¹⁵⁴ This seal could be used as evidence that the tree in 'animal and tree' scenes stands for some kind of god, as the animal approaches it in the same way; but this is weakened by the almost total absence of the tree on a 'mountain' in such seals, as the god's skirt in 339 is characterised in this way. Cf. also Moortgat Festschrift 1 (Moortgat-Correns 1964, 165-7) where the god seems to occupy the same context as the tree in 414 and 416.

411 has another winged bull with curls, with the raised hindleg assigned to Tukulti-Ninurta by Mayer-Opificius (1986, 163).

4.3.3 Babu-aha-iddina.

The seals of the chancellor Babu-aha-iddina are the subject of an interesting article by Freydank (1974). He cites four designs. Three of them¹⁵⁵ are impressed on letters of the chancellor. As there are texts¹⁵⁶ describing seals of the chancellor as depicting a wild bull and a *lahmu* respectively, and none of these shows a monster of any kind to fit the latter, Freydank added 357. A fifth seal, 359, is mentioned by Pedersen because it comes from the rich tomb found near the archive; but as he says there is no proof that Babu-aha-iddina was buried there. It is worth comparing this group of seals with our picture of the glyptic of Shalmaneser's reign. Unfortunately the two designs published by Freydank are only presented in indistinct photographs. Freydank says that the first shows a lion and an animal but does not describe the other. So far as I can see it might show a rampant lion (probably attacking an animal that is not preserved) beside a twisted tree (possibly on a hill that is obscured by the text), with a swooping bird above. This would be an Adad-nirari design (as 317 etc.). Significantly Freydank assigns it to an early stage in Babu-aha-iddina's career.

The scene with a lion and an animal may belong to the Shalmaneser series described above, but it is difficult to make out the details. 359 and 360 are both standard Shalmaneser style seals, though of unusually good quality.

The *lahmu* has now been identified convincingly with the nude hero with frontal face and curls (Wiggermann 1981-2; Green 1983, 145-7), so 357 is a good candidate.¹⁵⁷ According to Wiggermann (1981-2, 104-5) the text could be interpreted to refer to *lahmus* in the plural, so that the identical, but winged figure in 357 would then be another. In this respect I would like to draw attention to a sixth design, 358. Like 357 it is only known on undated envelope fragments but is, as Moortgat recognised (1942, 68), closely related to 357. He did not mention its almost equally close stylistic relation, especially in the ear and folded neck of the bull, to 360. If Wiggermann is right then this design shows both a wild bull and a *lahmu*.¹⁵⁸ Whatever the truth about their ownership, the 'seals of Babu-aha-iddina' may be taken together as illustrative of the very best work of the reign of Shalmaneser, or indeed of the whole Middle Assyrian period.

4.4 Tukulti-Ninurta I and the twelfth century.

4.4.1 Contests.

The reigns of Adad-nirari and Shalmaneser were a period of development and experiment, usually highly successful, but sometimes a little clumsy. In the time of Tukulti-Ninurta Assyrian art reached a climax, in parallel with the greatest military expansion before the ninth century, but it is somehow less fresh and imaginative. In the following century the Assyrians made few political or artistic advances, and it becomes difficult to make any chronological distinctions of the kind outlined above.

Most of the earlier designs represented variations on a few simple schemes, such as 'animals flanking tree' or 'lion fighting animal'. In Tukulti-Ninurta's reign the emphasis in contest scenes moves towards a generative principle rather than this standard-type approach. The repertory of elements was slightly increased, the main ones being human, lion, (herbivorous) animal, winged lion, winged animal, griffin, sphinx and griffin-demon.¹⁵⁹ There are three formats. The most popular was the 'triangular' combat. Here the two main contestants are much more interested in each other than in the third figure which often seems unconnected with the struggle raging above.¹⁶⁰ Another possibility was for one contestant to 'fall down' before the other. This provided a potential for running the scene over itself reminiscent in principle of the fourteenth century (e.g. 389). The third, and least popular format is like in Adad-nirari contests though usually without a tree: the victim tries to rise up from under its attacker. Both figures face in the same direction, but the victim usually looks back at the predator. The ostrich scenes in 396 and 397 may be counted in this series for this reason.

¹⁵⁵ 360, Freydank 1974, pl. I:1, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Freydank 1974, 8; Röllig 1980, 115; Wiggermann 1981-2, 104-5; Pedersen 1985, 110-111.

¹⁵⁷ Freydank's guess, made on the basis of the impression's excellent quality, has thus proved to be inspired.

¹⁵⁸ After the fourteenth century it is very unusual for Assyrian demons to have four wings. As Iraq 39-11A is evidently fourteenth century, the only other case, apart from 357 and 358, is 361. This is another link between this impression and the time of Shalmaneser, but as the griffin seems to have a feathered neck it may belong to the next reign. The demon wears a tunic and is in profile and is therefore probably not a *lahmu*. BM 89520 shows a miniature four-winged figure, in a composition not unrelated to Iraq 39-33 and 331, but I am inclined to describe it as transitional to neo-Assyrian.

¹⁵⁹ Some of these have several types, e.g. bull, horse, caprid; there are also some very rare types, like the scorpion-man, the winged human, the ostrich, the centaur and the winged ibex.

¹⁶⁰ Contrast 438 with 375.

To a large extent the combinations of elements in the positions allowed by the formats is random. About 70 designs of this kind are known. If there are eight elements then there are 64 possible combinations, and distinguishing by orientation 128 scenes. With three formats this system then generates 384 designs.¹⁶¹ It is thus not surprising that many of them are not known or only occur once. Some of these appear in the twelfth century impressions (e.g. 373) and some in the thirteenth century ones (e.g. 379), but it does not follow that this has chronological significance.

If the system is essentially a random generative one then this has implications for the interpretation of the designs, namely that the total effect is mainly decorative. The impressions 381 and 382 support this view. In each an animal fights a griffin, but the orientations are reversed. The most important detail is the tails. The combination of tail types is the same in both, but because of the change in orientation each tail type becomes attached to each kind of creature. This strongly suggests that the difference between the animal and the griffin is only decorative.

The situation was quite different earlier in the century. There animals are always clearly defeated. The introduction of the animal as an equal player in the scheme required the invention of the 'fighting animal' which could hold its own against a lion or a monster. This animal is usually either a bull (e.g. 382) or a horse (e.g. 375), and winged versions were also introduced.¹⁶² The extension of the repertory was thus a consequence of a change in the design conventions. Another such consequence was that creatures of the same kind could now fight each other, which was formerly unknown.¹⁶³

The combinations are least restricted in the 'triangular' format, while the third format follows the earlier convention most closely. Here, where one party is clearly losing the fight, the victim is always on the right and is nearly always an animal.¹⁶⁴

In the format where one party 'falls down' this figure is usually on the right.¹⁶⁵ Although the 'falling' figure is not necessarily defeated¹⁶⁶ there was a presumption that it might be: the animal in this series is always 'falling', the human never is, and the lion only 'falls down' when mastered by a human (383, 384). This gives the same order of success in combat as in the earlier part of the century: human - lion - animal.¹⁶⁷

Another guide to the differences between the elements is provided by the 'triangular' scenes. Here the principal figures combine more or less freely, but the small third figure, if present or preserved, does not. It is always of inferior status to at least one of the contestants. It is usually a herbivorous animal of the same kind as the 'fighting animal'¹⁶⁸ or winged animal (376, 377, 399) above it. If the contest does not include an animal or winged animal, however, the third figure remains a herbivorous animal.¹⁶⁹ It is customary to describe the former scenes as the parent protecting its young¹⁷⁰ and this is confirmed by the juvenile appearance of the third figure, smaller in size, often hornless, and wingless if the 'parent' is winged.¹⁷¹ But this is less cogent in the latter cases where the impression is more of two predators fighting over the spoils. The human, lion or griffin never occupies the third position. This implies that the rise of the animal and the winged animal to equality in the scheme of things was not complete.¹⁷²

¹⁶¹ This figure is both too small, because the rare elements and variants are not included, and too large, because there are some restrictions on combination, discussed below.

¹⁶² Winged bull: e.g. 370; winged horse: e.g. 399.

¹⁶³ e.g. horses, Iraq 39-41; lions: 380.

¹⁶⁴ Exceptions: the ostrich scenes and 353. The latter is a very rare case of a lion turning its head back: but this makes better sense in the context of this late scene (cf. 446, Iraq 39-10) than with the earlier scenes with an archer firing at a lion (351, 13 Glyptik 2, 12). The tablet may date to the end of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign: Saporetti 1979, 101-2 (TR 3023). Assur-nadin-apli, father of the *limmu*, could be the king's son (cf. Saporetti 1979, 116).

¹⁶⁵ Exceptions: e.g. 383, 391, 444.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. 393, 442.

¹⁶⁷ Other figure types are too rare for generalisation, but note the sphinx in both positions in 392, 442.

¹⁶⁸ 365, 374, 375, Fakhariyah XXVI?

¹⁶⁹ 363, 364, 366, 369, 378, 380, 417, 443.

¹⁷⁰ e.g. Lloyd 1978, 185, fig.132; Moortgat 1942, 62-65.

¹⁷¹ Though there are winged 'young' in 370 and Moortgat Festschrift 4.

¹⁷² Note that when the third figure is horned the contestants do not include a 'parent' (363, 366, 378, 380, 417). In the sole apparent exception, 377, the contestant is a winged bull but the third figure is a caprid, indicating that in this case they are unrelated. The caprid is never found in 'fighting' posture (except in the winged ibex). In 396 and 397 the ostrich has 'young', but not between the two main contestants which are not in 'triangular' format (contrast 379). 375 shows a third figure in the 'falling down' format.

4.4.2 List of late contest scenes.

The following list is given to illustrate the number of different combinations. It does not include some related designs that have been assigned to Shalmaneser.

'Triangular' Format

Human	- Lion	443
Human	- Animal (bull)	365, VR 594
Human	- Griffin	13 Glyptik 19
Human	- Winged Animal (bull)	VR 593
Human	- Ostrich	398
Human	- Monster (unclear)	500, 12 Glyptik 6, 7, Moortgat Festschrift 4
Lion	- Lion	380, 417
Lion	- Animal	374, Adana 62 (bull)
Lion	- Griffin	12 Glyptik 15
Lion	- Winged Human	366, 12 Glyptik 9
Lion	- Winged Animal	376 (bull), 399 (horse)
Lion	- Ostrich	379
Lion	- Centaur	371
Animal	- Lion	375 (horse)
Animal	- Animal	Iraq 39-41 (horses), Fakhariyah XXVI?
Animal	- Griffin	381
Animal	- Winged Lion	13 Glyptik 24 (horse)
Animal	- Monster (unclear)	402 (horse)
Griffin	- Human	13 Glyptik 20
Griffin	- Animal	382 (bull)
Griffin	- Griffin-Demon	369
Griffin-Demon	- Lion	363
Winged Lion	- Human	364
Winged Lion	- Winged Animal	373
Winged Lion	- Sphinx	372
Winged Animal	- Lion	377 (bull)
Human	- Winged Ibex	367
Scorpion-man	- Sphinx	368
Sphinx	- Animal (horse)	401
Sphinx	- Winged Animal (bull)	370
Monster (unclear)	- Lion	378

'Falling-down' Format

Human	- Lion	384, Iraq 39-22?
Human	- Animal	346 (caprid), 403 (horse)
Human	- Winged Animal	Moortgat Festschrift 5 (bull), 7?
Lion	- Human	383
Lion	- Animal	386 (horse); 388, 389, 441 (bulls); 385, 387, 390, Iraq 39-4
Lion	- Sphinx	442
Animal	- Human	444 (caprid)
Animal	- Lion	391 (caprid)
Animal	- Sphinx	392 (caprid)
Winged Lion	- Animal (bull)	Moortgat-Correns 1964, pl.21:2
Lion-centaur	- Lion	393

Format with rising victim

Human	- Lion	353
Human	- Animal (bull)	Louvre A900 (if Middle Assyrian (Moortgat 1944, 40): see Collon 1987, 82, no. 381 for a later date)
Human	- Ostrich	396
Lion	- Animal	446, 12 Glyptik 14, Fakhariyah XV?
Lion	- Ostrich	397
Griffin	- Animal	Iraq 39-10 (caprid), 36?, Fakhariyah XVII?
Griffin-demon	- Animal	395?, Fakhariyah VIII?
Scorpion-man	- Animal (bull)	394

4.4.3 Chronology.

In general the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta and the twelfth century are inextricable. But there are a few special features which enable one to make some tentative proposals. The reign of Tukulti-Ninurta is deficient in dated impressions as both Assur and Rimah are tailing off by then, several of their examples belonging to the very first few years.¹⁷³ The Fakhariyah archive is not well dated but on iconographic grounds seems to be more centred on Tukulti-Ninurta than the others.

Moortgat (1942, 64) noted that the combined bident and omega symbol of 399 is so rare that 402 must have come from the same stable. These seals belong to the best later Middle Assyrian workshop, which should be dated to Tukulti-Ninurta from the impression.¹⁷⁴ There is another combined symbol in 404, which indicates that seals with a 'master of animals' continued at this time.¹⁷⁵ 400, probably a contest involving a winged lion, and 405, apparently a ritual scene (Moortgat-Correns 1964, 170), are further examples. In the latter case the omega is also shown on a necklace around the animal's neck¹⁷⁶ which is comparable to the pomegranate-necklace worn by the winged horse in 399.¹⁷⁷ Such necklaces also occur in 401 and 406, both showing exquisitely modelled horses as fine as on 399. 406 then gives reason for dating other 'animal and tree' scenes where the animal is 'falling down' to this reign.¹⁷⁸

The 'animal and tree' scene thus terminates with these seals - there are no twelfth century examples - but the related 'winged animal and tree' scene seems to go on longer (425). It is difficult to date this series. A useful hint comes from 410, dated to Tukulti-Ninurta.¹⁷⁹ Here the twisted tree has a compact globular top with a long trunk ending in a vestigial 'hill'. Other trees of this kind occur in 342 and 343 (animal and tree scenes);¹⁸⁰ 447,¹⁸¹ Marcopoli 139 and BM 89557 (winged animal and tree scenes); and 429, an extremely unusual seal with a winged nude female. As the twisted tree never occurs in the twelfth century these should all be dated to Tukulti-Ninurta. 412, on the other hand, with an unusual volute-tree, belongs to the twelfth century because of the winged disk.¹⁸²

In accordance with the decline of the tree in the later thirteenth century and the increased stress on monsters, an important series with monsters on their own was developed. Most of these have horizontal bodies and should be dated to the twelfth century.¹⁸³ Those where the body is 'falling forward' may belong to either period.¹⁸⁴

Another trait datable to Tukulti-Ninurta is the human dress of type 3, where the hero wears a long over-mantle and often a curious flap over the shoulder which might just be a wing.¹⁸⁵ The earliest example, in a different style, is 508 with a tree on a hill. There is no dated impression showing this costume, but the Fakhariyah examples (367, 426) imply the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta (Kantor 1958, 71-3). 396 shows this hero with ostriches, and the testimony of 379¹⁸⁶ and 397, 398 confirms that the classic form of this bird is restricted to this time.¹⁸⁷ This supplies a date for Moortgat Festschrift 11. 384, which is only 'fourteenth century' from the archive number Assur 14446, may also have the Tukulti-Ninurta dress.¹⁸⁸ A later date for it is confirmed by 383.

The seal 415 shows this hero in an unusual context.¹⁸⁹ He is joining with a lion in making life unpleasant

¹⁷³ Saporetti 1979, 125-6; 385, 428, 444, 448, 13 Glyptik 19, 57; 347, 371, 422, Iraq 39-17, 38.

¹⁷⁴ Pedersen 1985, 100-1: late in the reign because it involves the son of Urad-Sherua.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. also 427; and 13 Glyptik 57, 58 where the hero encounters 'fighting animals'. 149 looks Second Kassite to me.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. the omega on a bracelet in 522, 523, cf. 534.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. also the Assyrianising-Hittitising seal 495.

¹⁷⁸ 407, dated to Tukulti-Ninurta: Saporetti 1979, 117 (TR 3013), 408; 445 is unclassifiable because of the twisted tree on a hill.

¹⁷⁹ Saporetti 1979, 119: Assur 14886 ac.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. also 344. The 'prancing' attitude of these animals is rather different from the pacing or leaping Shalmaneser ones.

¹⁸¹ The provenance of 447 in the Khabur area may indicate that it does not precede Tukulti-Ninurta I.

¹⁸² This seal has the 'human-headed winged ibex', a creature whose existence in the second millennium I rather doubt. The other cases (367, BM 89776) are equally unclear, while Mayer-Opificius 1984 pl. III:19 and de Clercq 357 which do have it are probably first millennium. But it is clear on the ivory Kepinski 1982, III, no. 924 (Kantor 1958, 71-3), if this is second millennium, and in the Third Kassite seal 212.

¹⁸³ 12 Glyptik 24, 25, Ladders 80, Louvre A619, Walters 102, Moortgat Festschrift 8: but note in the thirteenth century 422 (though with a frontal face) and Fakhariyah XIX, XX.

¹⁸⁴ 423, 12 Glyptik 22, 23; 411 (dated to Tukulti-Ninurta, Kühne 1980, 102-3).

¹⁸⁵ 365, 367, 396, 415, Moortgat Festschrift 7?

¹⁸⁶ Saporetti 1979, 127 (Assur 11018h): Tukulti-Ninurta.

¹⁸⁷ Contrast the Shalmaneser ostrich, 349.

¹⁸⁸ Compare especially 415 for the fringe running up the shoulder.

¹⁸⁹ This seal has always been difficult: see Deller 1982. He proposes the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, partly because of the owner's name but also because the writing A.BA for 'scribe' is first attested in Assur at that time. However Mr. Postgate tells me that this usage occurs twice in the thirteenth century archive Assur 14327 (KAJ 101, l. 25; VS 19 no. 47, l. 32 and 54).

for an animal with horns of type 7 which stands on a 'hill'. The best parallels are with the Tukulti-Ninurta impressions **413** and **419**.¹⁹⁰ We expect to find a tree on a hill rather than an animal, so **416**, where lions threaten the animal with horns 7 standing on a kind of volute-tree without a hill is not surprising. Another variant appears in the sub-Assyrian seal **418**, where the animal stands on a hill without any predators and looks at a tree. **420**, in another unusual style of engraving, is related, with animal, tree and hill. It is unfortunate that the object underneath the animal is lost, but the bunched-up legs are distinctive. In **417**, on the other hand, the hill is missing and the tree is rather vestigial and placed at the back. Here the lions¹⁹¹ rear over the animal, which despite its position on the ground holds all its legs together as though perched on a height. Finally **414** shows the animal, now very small, standing on a large garland tree threatened by a winged lion and a lion.¹⁹²

The meaning of this scene is obscure. As in Moore 80 and **361** the main contestants are not fighting over possession of the prey but are collaborating in its undoing. The attitude of the human in **419**, on the other hand, suggests a ritual significance.¹⁹³ Certainly the animal of this kind continued to have a special meaning for the Assyrians in the next millennium. It normally occurs in the neo-Assyrian Drilled style, sometimes on a rosette or palmette.¹⁹⁴ On an Assurnasirpal relief it is placed as a finial on what seems to be a 'tabernacle' (Meuszynski 1981, pl.2 (B-7)), while in Andrae 1967, 29 fig. 8 it appears on a temple front (cf. CANES 714). An animal with the same shape occurs frequently as a terminal in neo-Assyrian Drilled seals¹⁹⁵ but these and the cases where the animal is a filler¹⁹⁶ may be unconnected.

4.5 Contest Scenes: Overview.

The meaning of the Assyrian contest scenes is not easy to discover. But Porada (1979, 7-9) has shown what can be done by comparing the general tenor of the contests at different times. She observed that in the fourteenth century the fearsome demons are untrammelled by any human power, but that gradually the Assyrians gained confidence, reaching an uneasy equilibrium by the time of Shalmaneser (**357**) and finally emerging victorious, allowing the establishment of a more friendly relationship with the supernatural powers in the late ritual scenes (e.g. **533**).

In my view the contest and ritual designs should be kept apart, as they both existed at all times in the Middle Assyrian period. The twelfth century impressions show that the contest scenes were undiminished in vigour at that time, and it is becoming clear that many of the ritual designs belong quite early in the Assyrian development. However the general course of the contest scenes alone shows some striking changes in tone.

The fourteenth century, as Porada stated, was the era of the demons. The inheritance was specifically Mitannian¹⁹⁷ but the emphasis on the lion-demon in particular was new. Towards the end of the century the demon was replaced by the 'Assyrian hero' (**290**) and very rapidly faded from sight thereafter.¹⁹⁸ In the twelfth century demons reappear but are probably a new invention.¹⁹⁹ Both wings are now behind the back, while in the fourteenth century they were more often spread out on either side. In the twelfth century this form is used for monsters (e.g. **442**).

In style the Adad-nirari designs are much closer to the twelfth century than to the fourteenth, but in content they are very different. At both ends of the Assyrian development the emphasis is on fantastic beings in combat, while in Adad-nirari's reign nearly all of the motives are naturalistic. Thus from the early thirteenth century until the twelfth the progression is the opposite of the one described by Porada. Starting with many peaceful scenes with animals and trees²⁰⁰ and some combats where the human or the lion is clearly victorious

¹⁹⁰ Saporette 1979, 114 (KAJ 107=117, 319), 122-3 (Assur 11018t).

¹⁹¹ Of the 'horned' type, like all of the others in this series except **413**.

¹⁹² Beran (1957, 161) dated this seal to the fourteenth century. His best reasons for doing so are the comparisons with **280**, **298**, and **328**. The drilled pelt of **280** recurs in the thirteenth century impression 13 Glyptik 62, while **328** is probably not fourteenth century (dated only by archive number Assur 14446). **298** remains, and may indicate an early version of the scene. The garland-tree of **414** does not occur in the fourteenth century (if **297** and **298** are restored as garland-crosses) but does in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta (**424**). As there are no exact fourteenth century parallels for any part of **414** I have no hesitation in assigning it to the thirteenth century, but it is difficult to specify to what part of the century it belongs.

¹⁹³ Compare especially Moortgat Festschrift 1, cf. above p. 100.

¹⁹⁴ BN 376, Collon 1987, fig. 812, Collon BAR 120; cf. CANES 697; in Linear style, Newell 414. Cf. also in Elam, Choga Zanbil 33, 34.

¹⁹⁵ BN 349, 360, CANES 695, 696, 706, de Clercq 344bis, Marcopoli 254, VR 604.

¹⁹⁶ e.g. BN 322, Louvre A621, cf. **203**.

¹⁹⁷ e.g. Newell 361, CANES 1031.

¹⁹⁸ **428**, **429**, 13 Glyptik 62, all rather hard to date.

¹⁹⁹ **366**, 12 Glyptik 9; I think **149** is Second Kassite.

²⁰⁰ e.g. **430**, **431**, **432**, **439**.

(433, 434), the contest scenes steadily become predominant,²⁰¹ and in the rise of the 'triangular' scene (e.g. 443) the outcome of the struggle becomes increasingly equivocal, until even herbivorous animals from Tukulti-Ninurta's time can put up a fight. In two-figure contests there is a progression from a rampant victim in Adad-nirari's time (433, 434) through a horizontal one in the reign of Shalmaneser (437, 440) to the 'falling down' animal at the end of the century (441, 442, 444). In the normal cases where the protagonists are an animal and a lion, the animal thus changed over time while the lion remained constant (434, 437, 441). But the geometry of these arrangements was such that as the animal's posture became increasingly abject there was more and more space for it so at the end one has rather a small lion confronting a large animal.²⁰²

I have suggested that this development is due to a change from scenes which depicted certain specific contests, such as the lion subduing an animal, which meant something to the Assyrians, to contest scenes as a generative system capable of producing many variants, but inevitably declining in individual significance as a result. The course of the thirteenth century thus illustrates the growth of autonomy of Assyrian art from a reflection of specific concepts to an independent form of decoration which required no external reference (cf. Frankfort 1939, 310).

But this does not explain the much more abrupt change between the reign of Assuruballit and Adad-nirari, a regrettably little documented time that marks the boundary between the early and mature phases of the style. I have suggested that there was a lag between the establishment of an Assyrian national consciousness and the political realisation of that consciousness in Assuruballit's reign. But Assuruballit did more than establish the independence of Assur. He was also able to interfere actively in the internal affairs of a foreign great power. Perhaps the assured and confident style of Adad-nirari was the result, after another time-lag, of the international consequence which the Assyrians suddenly found they possessed. The development which Porada traces over a period of a century may thus really have taken place over a couple of decades.

4.6 Ritual Scenes: Introduction.

The Assyrian contest scenes are numerous and, in the mature style, entirely indigenous. The ritual scenes, on the other hand, are rare and show more foreign relations. Indeed many of them have often been classified as not Assyrian. The term 'ritual' is vague and means little more than 'not a contest', but the seals group for the most part into a few clear series. Although the difficulties in classification are partly due to lack of recognition they are also partly caused by the presence among the ritual seals of scenes with an international distribution. The most important of these are the Atlantid Scene and the Fan Scene. The form of the ritual scenes can vary widely, but most are at least related to a scheme where two humans face each other. Many ritual designs do not include a tree, but where they do it may be either behind or between them. In *conceptual* terms, the Atlantid Scene has the tree between the figures while the Fan Scene has it behind them. In neither case, however, is the presence of a tree necessary. Given the small quantity of evidence and the wide variety of combinations of elements and of styles involved, any treatment must inevitably be hypothetical and a formal analysis can hardly be attempted. The preliminary assumption made here, that there were continuing concepts corresponding to the 'Fan Scene' and the 'Atlantid Scene', which found various means of expression, can easily be challenged; but its consequences, as described below, have a certain coherence both in chronological and in conceptual terms, which implies that the assumption, if not correct, has at least some value. But the various scenes which I have linked together owing to common attributes such as the fan or the winged disk may well have had very different meanings with only certain inessential points in common. Only a considerable expansion of the available evidence will clarify this question. In the following discussion the Assyrian cases are treated first and the wider situation is covered after.

4.7 The Sacred Tree and the Atlantid Scene.

4.7.1 Assyrian Atlantid scenes.

If a scene has an overall meaning other than that residing in its parts then those parts must stand in some relation to one another. In the *Atlantid Scene* the principal figures (human and demonic) relate directly to an inanimate object, such as the winged disk, whereas in the *Fan Scene* these figures are directly related to each other.

The Atlantid Scene was the most important component of the earliest Assyrian repertoire, in the form of a set of demonic bearers in pairs, who support the winged disk in various ways.²⁰³ These designs disappeared in the late fourteenth century and, arguably, the Atlantid Scene with them; but in the twelfth century what is

²⁰¹ e.g. 437, 438, 440-444, 446.

²⁰² Compare 434 with 441, or an extreme case, 442.

²⁰³ This series is discussed in the next section as it cannot be separated from the Mitannian examples.

evidently the same concept reappears, though now with a single bearer underneath the winged disk. It therefore seems reasonable to seek the scene in some other form in the thirteenth century, and much the best candidate is the tree-centred scene, where pairs of humans or demons flank a tree. The problem with this formulation is that the winged disk disappears from Assyrian glyptic at the same time as the Assyrian tree-centred scene originated, which makes it difficult to confirm all the links that can be proposed. In the tree-centred scene the tree is flanked by humans or griffin-demons, some of which certainly have empty hands²⁰⁴ but which in most cases are insufficiently well preserved to be sure. **491** certainly has the bucket. In **196** and **13 Glyptik 76** we have non-Assyrian bucket-bearers facing a winged disk above a tree, and in **467** they face a classic Atlantid scene.²⁰⁵ This scene with a stool beneath the winged disk has a formal similarity to the one with a tree under the winged disk as is suggested below. Finally the bearers in Atlantid scenes include both griffin-demons (e.g. **458**, **463**) and humans (e.g. **457**, **467**), though the bull-man, who does not occur in the Assyrian tree-centred scenes, is no less important.²⁰⁶ The evidence is thus circumstantial rather than demonstrative, but it is worth something. The Atlantid Scene was very important to the early Assyrians²⁰⁷ and the tree-centred scene is the best candidate for the continuation of the concept.

479 and **480** both have the winged disk on a stool as a filling element, associated in each case with a human in ritual pose. They should be dated to the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the thirteenth, and show that the winged disk in some of its last appearances before the twelfth century was still imagined in the context of the Atlantid Scene.²⁰⁸ Terms like 'sacred tree' and 'tree of life' are much over-used in the literature, often meaning nothing more than 'any stylised tree'. I have no intention of contributing to the speculation on this subject, but the 'sacred tree' is innocuous enough when it is confined to scenes of a ritual nature which focus on a tree. The pattern of the Assyrian *tree-centred scenes* is set by the fourteenth century impressions. In **489**²⁰⁹ we find three humans grouped around a palm tree. This design puzzled Beran (1957, 162) who wondered whether it might be Akkadian. Porada (1971b, 33) in an interesting article on the ritual series described it as Elamite. Without here broaching the question of the Elamite relations of the Fan Scene, it should be remarked that the tree-centred scene does not occur in Elam so that **489** can only be related to it by way of tree-terminated Fan Scenes, some of which are certainly very close in style. In particular the mirror occurs in Fan Scenes such as **512**, though not in Elam.

An important aspect of the tree-centred scene is the interchangeability of the various attendants. This is much more true of Atlantid designs, but there are several fourteenth century impressions where the tree is attended by griffin-demons.²¹⁰ In **487** we find the winged disk hovering above, which supplies a link to Atlantid scenes such as **458** and **463**. The development here is probably from Atlantid scene to tree-centred scene, because the winged disk and with it the Atlantid Scene died out in the thirteenth century, while both occur in Mitannian seals and were part of the early Assyrian inheritance. The man on the left in **463** has arms of type 3, and **458** shows a horizontal guilloche. These are both Mitannian features which are already absent from the early, but wholly Assyrian, tree-centred scenes mentioned above.

In the thirteenth century the pattern was the same. Humans flank the tree in Mayer-Opificius 1986, pl.30:4 and Iraq 39-8 while **419** and **431** may be related.²¹¹ In **492** they are replaced by griffin-demons. Likewise in the twelfth century we find both humans and griffin-demons (**494**, 12 Glyptik 29, 30). The consistency of these seals is remarkable considering their rarity, especially in the griffin-demon plucking a fruit, a very unusual motif found both in the mid fourteenth century (**488**) and in the late thirteenth century (**493**).²¹² In the same way the human and the griffin-demon are combined together, one on each side of the tree, both in the thirteenth century seal **491** (if all the elements in question are original) and in **494**.²¹³

Although these seals are rare there is no reason to doubt that we have here part of the ancestry of the neo-Assyrian scene so prominently displayed in Assurnasirpal's palace of the figures with 'bucket and cone' facing the sacred tree. The 'bucket and cone', however, are for the most part not present, though one cannot be sure in the impressions. They, or at least the bucket, were nonetheless well established in other seals long before the

²⁰⁴ Mayer-Opificius 1986, pl.30:4.

²⁰⁵ Also possibly **465** and cf. Yale 1280.

²⁰⁶ e.g. **465**. The bull-man disappeared from the Assyrian repertory at the end of the fourteenth century and, unlike the winged disk, did not return in the twelfth. He is also a notable absentee from the Assyrian palace reliefs (Green 1983, 167).

²⁰⁷ **454**, **457-459**, **461**, **463-467**, **474-477**, 14 Glyptik 84, 86-88, 90, 91.

²⁰⁸ Cf. in Mitannian **478** and Nuzi 745.

²⁰⁹ KAJ 8, dated to the end of the fourteenth century from Parparaiu.

²¹⁰ **278**, **486**, **487**, **488**, 14 Glyptik 107.

²¹¹ Note as described above **419** belongs to the 'animal on a hill' series while **431** may have Second Kassite affiliations.

²¹² Cf. the fine Mitannian seal Ward 950, where a lion-griffin seems to hold a miniature tree before a winged-disk standard.

²¹³ **490** is a curious design. The griffin-demon and absence of ritual furniture are in accordance with this series; but the man seems to hold a 'cloth' and the tree is behind the figures, as in the Fan Scene.

origin of the Assyrian style (Collon 1986a, 34). The upper object is usually unclear in publications, but when well-defined looks like a branch.²¹⁴

When the winged disk reappeared at the end of the Middle Assyrian period Atlantid scenes revived with it, but in a new form. Instead of two bearers supporting a stool under a winged disk we now have a single bearer kneeling with the winged disk above his head (498-501).²¹⁵ The fish-cloaked figure with a bucket in 499 and the water-symbolism of both 499 and 501 show that we are dealing with variants of the tree-centred scene 196. The fish-cloaked figure has thus replaced the griffin-demon, and this may well be under Babylonian influence. Except for the figure on the right and the winged disk 196 is entirely Third Kassite in style, and the fish-cloaked figure also occurs in earlier Babylonian seals.²¹⁶ The griffin-demon retained its position in the tree-centred scene, however,²¹⁷ and survived to play a major role in the palace of Assurnasirpal II.

4.7.2 Supporting the winged disk.

The outline above should be sufficient to show that the permutations of the Atlantid Scene are confusing and it is not easy to say what is and what is not an Atlantid scene. This is especially so because even in the most obvious Atlantid seals no single element is indispensable, and this even applies to locations within the network of relations, such as 'object which is supported'. For example in the classic fourteenth century series there are two bearers who lift a stool under a winged disk. In 461 the symbol is replaced by a crescent-disk, while in 453 and 464 there is nothing above the stool. This series is the largest and most obvious, so I shall sketch it first and then go on to other variants. The main source is the fourteenth century Assyrian impressions, but most of them show clear Mitannian features²¹⁸ and there is one case from Nuzi (453), so the series should be classified as 'Mitannian'.²¹⁹ However there are also examples from Cyprus, Greece and Syria.²²⁰

As stated above, the *object supported* is nearly always a winged disk, but can be a crescent-disk or not present. In 462 it is three rosettes enclosed by a guilloche.²²¹ The winged disk is nearly always of the elegant form where the feathers run right across in a gentle curve under the disk.²²²

The 'stool' nearly always has a double line of drillings, interpreted by Porada as a cushioned royal throne (1975, 170). Whether it really is a stool rather than a table is open to doubt: there may have been some special piece of temple furniture which was actually raised in some ceremony.

The *bearers* are either nude men with heads in profile,²²³ griffin-demons,²²⁴ or bull-men, either in profile (464, 465) or full-face.²²⁵ It is impossible to be certain in all cases whether it is a bull-man or a nude hero. The Nuzi scene certainly has tails, but 474, though in another series, has clear nude heroes (Mayer-Opificius 1984, 197). 455 may have one of each. 462, which I have seen myself, has men without tails whose heads lack both the nude hero's curls and the bull-man's ears. The legs, however, look human. A head of the same kind occurs in 460 below the stool. 452 is a bizarre seal where the Atlantid scene is in a subsidiary position: here the bearers are winged fishmen, a monster otherwise unknown.

In most cases the *object beneath the stool* is indeterminate. There are some nude kneeling men (455, 461, 462), the nude female,²²⁶ a frontal human head (460), a bull (453) and an inverted tree (? 454). The winged

²¹⁴ 142, 450, 451, 467, 13 Glyptik 76; Mayer-Opificius 1984, 197.

²¹⁵ The dating of these seals to the Middle Assyrian period is far from certain. I assign 500 thus because of the smiting hero in a short dress. This figure is rare in the first millennium (e.g. Guimet 118, CANES 752, 768, Louvre A713, VR 646). It is more natural then for heroes to adopt the Open dress (type 4) and for the arm on the side away from the victim to be lowered. 499 has wavy lines above and below reminiscent of 527 (and cf. the guilloches in the Assyro-Kassite seals 196, 197, 203). The royal gesture in 499 and 501 is attested in the twelfth century (530, cf. 534; Magen 1986, 50). The winged disks with their vestigial tails look late Middle Assyrian (cf. 412, 425 and the Broken Obelisk). The compositions are simple and well-balanced in the Middle Assyrian manner without the clutter sometimes found later. Dr. Collon drew my attention to Boehmer 1973, 159 where he quotes Opificius assigning 501 to the 9th. c. The dot-in-panel pattern, which as he shows was common in the later 8th. c., occurs in 396 and 415; and Mayer-Opificius has more recently dated 501 to the 12th. c. (1984, 199).

²¹⁶ 142, 143, 144. Cf. also the appearance of the goatfish in Assyria at this time in 529, and possibly also the sagittarius, 409, 12 Glyptik 43, 44, as well.

²¹⁷ 494, 12 Glyptik 29, 30.

²¹⁸ e.g. the horizontal guilloche in 457, 458, or the human attitudes in 463, 459, 14 Glyptik 86, 87, 91, Yale 1280.

²¹⁹ Non-Mitannian cases such as 477 and 480 omit either the stool or the bearers.

²²⁰ 456, 460, 462. The Thebes seal (460) belonged to a king of Yaraguttum, apparently somewhere in Syria (Brinkman 1981/2, 73-4).

²²¹ For geometric replacements of the winged disk see also 567, 601, Nuzi 921, Amiet 1973, no. 409.

²²² Parayre 1984, 219-220, but this is not a main criterion in her classification.

²²³ 457, 466, 467; short tunics in 456.

²²⁴ 454, 458, 460, 461, 463.

²²⁵ 453, 455, 459, 462, 14 Glyptik 86. Mayer-Opificius (1984, 198) appears to deny the existence of Atlantid bull-men. This might be explicable if she restricted the term to direct support of the winged disk, but she cites 483, where one grasps a tree below the winged disk, as an exception. In any case bull-men do support the winged disk directly in 471 and 472.

²²⁶ 456, holding birds; 467, winged and in Atlantid posture.

disk naturally depresses the height of the bearers, so adjacent figures can be a head taller. In most cases they are unrelated, but occasionally the opportunity was taken to set the Atlantid scene within a larger scene in the manner favoured by the seals on the boundary between Mitannian and Assyrian.²²⁷

In 467 the winged nude female supports the stool beneath the winged disk with upraised arms. It was possible for a figure to support the winged disk directly in this way. In 475 the snake-goddess does so, with two nude men supporting her, while in 477 a griffin-demon appears in this position.²²⁸ Here the naked men on either side are themselves supporting the winged disk with one arm.

These latter figures define another Atlantid series, without the stool. The seals with the stool were proto-Assyrian but still Mitannian, while the three seals with a central figure and two supporters are all early Assyrian. This new series is more eclectic: there are Assyrian (474, 476), Mitannian (471, 472) and Levantine (481, 482, Collon BAR 109) cases. The bearers are now usually men, either naked or in short tunics, but 476 has lion-demons, 481 has griffin-demons(?), and there are bull-men in 471 and 472. In most cases the bearers grasp a tree or standard between them but in 471 they each hold a hindleg of an inverted animal.²²⁹ The object between the demons in 481 cannot be deciphered (Collon 1982a, 117-8).

This series thus combines the Atlantid Scene and the tree-centred scene in a specific way. Seals showing supporters of a tree under a winged disk or of a winged disk standard show the same pattern. In the former we find as bearers humans (567), griffin-demons (487) and, in 483, a bull-man combined with a griffin-demon. In the latter we have humans (14 Glyptik 79, Porada 1975, fig.11), winged humans (485), bull-men (484) and griffin-demons (HSS XIV 280). These seals are mostly Kirkuk Mitannian and may illustrate the environment from which the Atlantid Scene originated.²³⁰

All of the designs so far discussed, except possibly some of the Levantine ones, form such a coherent group that they should all be dated together in the fourteenth century. There is much less evidence for the later developments. The main evidence here is Hittite. The well-known ivory from Megiddo (Kepinski 1982, III, no.763) shows an extraordinary array of human and demonic figures in tiers supporting two winged disks at the top above duplicated Hittite kings, and the Eflatun Pinar monument (Beyer 1980, fig.17) illustrates the same extreme emphasis on the Atlantid concept. In many Hittite seals (e.g. 497, 562, 563, 565) we find the winged disk as an appendage, probably hieroglyphic, attached to the king's head.²³¹ In 496 we have the glyptic version of the Hittite Atlantid Scene. Bull-men, supported by 'mountain-gods', hold the winged disk above the figure of the king standing on a lion.

The important innovation of this Hittite usage is the explicit association of the winged disk with kingship.²³² It seems very likely to me that the winged disk revived in Assyria under Hittite influence, perhaps as a means of asserting the dignity of the king after the trauma of the murder of Tukulti-Ninurta I. But in the late Middle Assyrian Atlantid scenes the king is more probably the attending human than the kneeling figure under the disk.²³³ This figure seems to be demonic, as is shown by the wings in the two forerunners of the scene, the Mitannian 473 and the Hittitising 495.²³⁴ Another forerunner may be 468, not strictly an Atlantid scene but conceptually similar. The scorpion-men may be compared to 473 and the streams of 'rain' to 196 and 501.²³⁵ Mayer-Opificius (1984, 199) describes the kneeling figure as *lahmu*, but in the Assyrian cases the head is in profile and a tunic is worn so the identification is insecure. But the nude *lahmu* with curls did appear in the earlier series (474) and she is right to stress the watery character of this demon (Wiggermann 1981-2, 96). The fishmen as bearers in 452 are another hint in this direction.

The Atlantid Scene thus betrays a common conception underlying a wide variety of actual designs. The idea in Mitannian seals seems to have been a portrayal of heaven (Mayer-Opificius 1984, 192), and this is accordingly the situation in the earlier Assyrian series which did not survive into the thirteenth century. At this time the concept was transformed by the Hittites into a much more explicitly solar and royal symbol, and as such it was taken up again by the Assyrians after Tukulti-Ninurta. But in both periods there are persistent hints

²²⁷ Humans in Mitannian/Babylonian attitude: 456, 459, 463; bucket-bearing demons: 465, 467, cf. Yale 1280.

²²⁸ For a discussion of such figures with downswep wings see Porada 1974/7, 134-9. Nuzi 749 has a central demon with downswep wings which is either supporting the winged disk or subduing the bulls on either side. Cf. also 469, Amiet 1973, no.409 and the demon with raised arms but no winged disk in Nuzi 793, 795, 825, 899 (Kantor 1958, 61).

²²⁹ As in 288, 14 Glyptik 88.

²³⁰ See CANES 941 for an Old Syrian precursor (Mayer-Opificius 1984, 191).

²³¹ 'My Sun': Laroche 1956, 123-4.

²³² The Hittites must presumably have acquired the winged disk in Syria (Collon 1982a, 117-8), but whether from Syrian or Egyptian models is uncertain. The extreme exaltation of the king may point to the latter, perhaps as a means of asserting great-power status in equality with Egypt. But as so often we miss the evidence of the Mitannian court art here.

²³³ 499, 501, cf. 196.

²³⁴ cf. also Collon BAR 110.

²³⁵ See Mayer-Opificius 1984, 198.

that the Atlantid Scene is also to do with the circulation of water.²³⁶ It may thus be suggested that we have here the equivalent of the 'chthonic god' series in Babylonia (Mayer-Opificius 1984, 203-4). The exact parallelism between the early Assyrian and Second Kassite styles is thus maintained in this as in everything else. In both cases we have a series of many variants on the same theme which together constitute a principal and characteristic subject of the style. In both the basic meaning - the cycle of nature - seems to be the same,²³⁷ and once again this equivalence is maintained without any confusion between the styles.²³⁸

4.8 Altars, tables and the Fan Scene.

4.8.1 Assyria.

The ritual scenes where two figures face each other, often with a table or altar between them and the tree, if present, as a terminal, are much more numerous in mature Assyrian seals than the tree-centred scenes, and the foreign relations this time are more with Elam than with Kirkuk. As with the contest scenes, the decisive break within the mature Middle Assyrian seals comes in the later thirteenth century during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. In the earlier period, there are two scenes which coexisted in several engraving styles. One is usually with an altar, and is therefore presumably ritual; in the other the most characteristic element is the 'cloth'. There is nothing to show that this scene cannot be secular. In the later series these two scenes are combined and the tone is now unmistakably religious.

The only scene of this kind in the fourteenth century Assyrian impressions is 14 Glyptik 49. The steeply rampant animal looks Mitannian. There are several examples among the thirteenth century impressions (502-505, 13 Glyptik 72). In most of these, unfortunately, the details are unclear. The figures are usually grouped around an altar,²³⁹ and there is a normally seated figure. These are mostly dated to Shalmaneser, but 502 is one of the undatable tablets from the Assur 14446 archive. Nonetheless the indications are that they belong to the early thirteenth century, as shown above.²⁴⁰ As 502 has the cross it may date to Shalmaneser's reign. This is confirmed by 506, which has the cross and the 'Shalmaneser palm tree' (see above, p. 95). 12 Glyptik 35 may be a stray belonging to this group, and 479 and 480 may also be related.²⁴¹ In these seals there is little ritual equipment: the altar, vessels (505), a staff (503, 506) and perhaps a cult statue in 504.

Another contemporary group has more characteristic furnishings. Here the standing attendant holds a 'cloth' which hangs down in two parts,²⁴² while the seated figure often holds an object which may be a mirror (Porada 1971b, 33). These seals may be dated to the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the thirteenth from the trees, a palm (509, 511) and a twisted tree.²⁴³ There is sometimes a third figure bearing a fan.²⁴⁴ In 516 and 517 the figures advance in procession towards the tree, but the cloth shows that the variation is on the present scene rather than on the tree-centred scene. The former has the elaborated volute-tree of the late fourteenth century while the latter has the Shalmaneser palm tree. Other members of the group are 510, 515, 518 and Marcopoli 143.²⁴⁵ In 515 the attendant with a cloth may also be holding a cup, while in 479 and 514 the cup is held by the seated figure. In 521 and 535 the cup appears in definite ritual scenes, but this is less obvious in 524. According to Moortgat-Correns (1964, 167-9) this impression is a secular banquet-scene and, if so, the Fan Scene may be secular also.²⁴⁶

Porada (1971b, 33) describes these seals as Elamite. This does not seem probable to me, not so much from a disagreement on the specific Elamite relationships²⁴⁷ as from the absence of the series from both Susa and

²³⁶ Earlier series: *lahmu*: 474, perhaps others; 'rain': 468; fishmen: 452. Later series: fish-cloaked figure: 196, 499; streams: 499, 501; 'rain': 196, 501.

²³⁷ For more speculations on the meaning see Mayer-Opificius 1984.

²³⁸ Except 196. It is impossible to say whether this is Assyrian or Babylonian, but the confusion is between *late* Middle Assyrian and Babylonian styles.

²³⁹ I use this term in a general sense to denote the upright stand found in ritual scenes. In some cases it clearly bears flames (e.g. 535), but in others it becomes impossible to distinguish it from the *marru* (35, 541).

²⁴⁰ 503 and 504 have the 'Adad-nirari hairstyle'; 502 and 503 have the 'fuzzy disk'; 505 has the palm.

²⁴¹ 479 has the typical altar, and 480 a kneeling figure like in 503 and 504; but both have Atlantid motives and other elements as well.

²⁴² 'Towel', Porada 1971b, 33; 'tassels(?)', Teissier 1984, 148; fish, Delaporte 1923, 174.

²⁴³ 513, discussed above, p. 95.

²⁴⁴ 512, 514, 519. The second of these has a palm tree. The elaborate composition of the last is only paralleled by 520, but all of the individual scenes are early thirteenth century and the winged disk also suggests an early date.

²⁴⁵ Cf. also 490.

²⁴⁶ The main counter-argument is that the animal-footed table bearing a row of small objects is very similar to the one in 533 and other ritual designs.

²⁴⁷ Though the 'fuzzy disk' in 502 is much closer to other Assyrian cases such as 313 and 323 than to Choga Zanbil 24, and the mirror can occur in Kirkuk Mitannian: Nuzi 736, HSS XIV 301.

Choga Zanbil, except perhaps 544. As these sites produced many more seals than Assur this absence is significant.²⁴⁸ At Assur there is one seal (516) and several impressions. The question is complicated by the stylistic variation in the seals, which cuts across the types of scene. There are two main styles. One is minute and delicate with fine drilled detail.²⁴⁹ Other features of this style are a flounced dress (489, 517, 518) and a bushy hairstyle that only reached the Assyrian contest scenes later in the thirteenth century.²⁵⁰ Neither of these occurs at Susa or at Choga Zanbil in these forms. However de Clercq 359 is, as remarked by Porada (1972, 177), in a closely related style. It cannot be Assyrian because the arm position of type 7 was rejected there in the middle of the fourteenth century,²⁵¹ but it is not indigenous Elamite either.²⁵² As no seals or impressions with this style are known from Babylonia it most probably comes from some part of Luristan under Kassite influence. Porada describes its relations to Iranian metal and glasswork.²⁵³ However the ritual scenes under discussion do show specific Assyrian traits in the trees and symbols, and do not include any Kassite elements, so a location at Assur seems more probable for them.²⁵⁴

The other style has rather crude tubular shapes overlaid with linear detail.²⁵⁵ Here the hair is often long down the back²⁵⁶ and the figures are beardless and possibly feminine. The dresses are plain with horizontal bands across them, apparently a variant of the Elamite fringed dress (type 7). Chairs and stools have a lattice pattern on the side. On account of the examples from the Khabur (515) and Adana (511, but unprovenanced) this style may have had a more westerly distribution than the other, but there is no reason not to locate it at Assur.²⁵⁷

The later development of these series is not so well documented. The best starting point is the presence of the omega symbol in 522, 523, 533 and 534, which dates them to the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I or later. These have more in common with the second style than the first, but can now include the flounced dress and bushy hair (523). The most important change is that the cloth is lost,²⁵⁸ or rather is replaced by the 'cloth' lying on a table.²⁵⁹ The table is first found in 511, though as the attendant holds a cloth, there is not one on the table. There is also a jar on a stand as in 523. The two earlier scenes, one with an altar, the other with 'cloth and mirror', are now fused together. The staff held by the figure on the right in 503 and 506 is now found in 522 and 523, and the altar is sometimes, though not always, present. Ritual equipment is multiplied, such as the 'ziggurat-cakes' of 528 and 533.²⁶⁰ Other later scenes, 524, 531 and 535 show more items. 533 shows a god standing on a stepped platform similar to the ziggurats in 527, 528 and 532. The deity on a lion in 535 shows another version of this idea, and so does 498, where the god on a platform holds a staff.²⁶¹ In the Samsat seal (534) the moon god, holding a crescent and an omega, stands on a platform within a 'boat', which may be another representation of the crescent moon.²⁶² Other examples of this later ritual series are 521, 525, Fakhariyah I and Brussels 454. There is every reason to believe that most of these designs depict ritual activities before a god, because of the altar, and the specific divine attributes in 521, 533, 534 and 535.²⁶³ But these are conspicuously absent from the earlier 'cloth and mirror' scene.

²⁴⁸ Though Choga Zanbil may have been founded just after the main period of the series.

²⁴⁹ Tree-centred scene: 489 (with mirror); altar scene: 479, 502; scene with cloth: 514, 516, 517, 518.

²⁵⁰ 479, 502, 514, 516, 517.

²⁵¹ In the impressions it only occurs in Mitannian or transitional designs such as 605, 606, 14 Glyptik 86, 87.

²⁵² Arms 7 only occurs at Susa and Choga Zanbil in pseudo-Kassite designs. This seal is not pseudo-Kassite.

²⁵³ Add Amiet 1986, fig.1. How much of this material is booty from Babylonia?

²⁵⁴ 502 is particularly informative here because the cross is of the standard Assyrian type, not the Kassite one.

²⁵⁵ Tree-centred scene: perhaps Mayer-Opificius 1986, pl.30:4; altar scene: perhaps 503, 504, 13 Glyptik 72; 'cloth and mirror' scene: 509, 511, 512, 513, 515, 519, Marcopoli 143; 544?

²⁵⁶ Though this can occur in the other style: 489, 517, 518.

²⁵⁷ Because of the links with the other style, and details such as the trees. The very unusual seal 307 also belongs to this style, and not to the finely drilled one, as stated by Porada 1980b, 30 - the lines across the dresses are certainly rendered by lines and not rows of dots; moreover they are horizontal, not at an angle as in the examples she cites. The Assyrian hero on the left is unknown in any Iranian seal, and the tree, though unusual, is not unlike the one in 490 if the garland is removed from around the latter. It has no Iranian parallels. The best clue is provided by the strong horizontal lines across the tassels between the taller hero's legs, which also occur in 309, which likewise shows a small hero with a large one. I assigned it above to the period of Adad-nirari. Porada's interpretation of 307 as a scene of a vassal with his overlord is ingenious and attractive. For the harp see also 622 and the Assur ivory, Haller 1954, 137 fig. 163b.

²⁵⁸ Except perhaps in 510: this design is too fragmentary to decide whether it belongs to the later series.

²⁵⁹ Porada 1983, 17: 'stiffly pressed tablecloth'. Whether it is a functional equivalent of the former cloth is unknown, but both are usually in two parts.

²⁶⁰ See Porada 1983, 17 for a textual reference.

²⁶¹ Note that this seal also includes an Atlantid scene.

²⁶² For divine boats see Opificius 1957-71; she refers to another Middle Assyrian example in the Buffalo Museum. Cf. also Seidl 1968, 115-6, Collon 1987, no. 736 and Andrae 1977, figs. 47, 49. 511 is probably not related?

²⁶³ The staff or sceptre in 498, 503, 506, 522, 523 and Brussels 454 may also be a divine attribute: Moortgat 1942, 82.

4.8.2 The Fan Scene.

The evidence for the Fan Scene outside Assyria is fairly extensive but dispersed. The most important region is Elam.²⁶⁴ Apart from 544, these seals are not similar in style to the Assyrian cases. The fan should be seen as an optional accessory in the banqueting scene just as in Assyria it is optional in the 'cloth and mirror' scene. Nonetheless this does establish a link between the two scenes. The Assyrian Fan Scenes were found to be relatively early, none probably being later than Shalmaneser. The Elamite seals, since they occur at Choga Zanbil, are unlikely to be earlier than the thirteenth century. There is thus a good case for the Assyrian origin of the Fan Scene in Elam. There are a few hints of a Mitannian component. In Nuzi 497 there is a 'banqueting scene' which is not otherwise specifically related.²⁶⁵ In a Foroughi seal (543) and 542, on the other hand, we have the Fan Scene in an unusual style with Kassite and Mitannian elements. The cutting style is Mitannian, but some of the elements, such as the dog and twisted tree of 542, are Kassite. The content, on the other hand, is more Assyrian than either Kassite, Mitannian or Elamite. In 543 the attendant on the left holds a cloth and a vase, while there is an altar below.²⁶⁶ In 542 the attendant appears to hold the leg of an animal, perhaps a rhyton, while the seated figure holds a flower. There is an animal-legged table between them.²⁶⁷ This seal is also related to the Nineveh seal, BM 89806. Here, again with Mitannian engraving (though of a different kind), are several of the same unusual elements: a dog, a cock, a rhyton, an animal-legged table, and a man sitting on a latticework chair. The scene shows two attendants approaching a stag's head on the table before the seated man. The stag's head has a curious wedge, like a mute for a trumpet, in its mouth: one is reminded of a stuffed boar's head with an apple in its mouth. There is no reason to suppose the scene ritual rather than secular.

Another design occurs on a Nuzi impression (Stein 1987, no.78), again with Mitannian engraving. Unfortunately the scene is fragmentary, but the attendant seems to hold something before a seated figure also holding objects. The seated man wears a garment similar to the one in the coarser Assyrian group with horizontal bands, which is also typical of Elam. He sits on a chair with an inward-curving back like the one on 542. There is a schematic table and traces of a winged demon and a tree.²⁶⁸

A further seal from Ugarit, 539, in an ordinary hard-stone Mitannian style, shows an attendant with cloth and fan before a seated figure drinking with a tube from a pot. This theme is repeated on 537 where the attendant is a nude female. 537 is so incongruous in its elements that one wonders whether it may have been originally an ordinary Mitannian seal like BM 89855 which was later recut with the Assyrianising upper secondary scene, fan, cloth and hairstyles. The seated man with a mace at his waist is reminiscent of BM 89806 and 479.²⁶⁹ 538 has another such man, this time with a more convincing fan-bearing attendant like the one in 539.²⁷⁰ 14 Glyptik 49 is in an unusual and rather coarse Mitannian style; the seated figure may be wearing a dress similar to that in Stein 1987, no.78. In 520, on the other hand, there is again a suspicion of recutting. The seated figure may have originally been drinking from a tube as in 537, 538 and 539, but later grasped a vessel as in 479, 543 and perhaps 14 Glyptik 49. The attendants are nude men. The filling symbols

²⁶⁴ 544-547, Choga Zanbil 76; Susa 2062, 2063, 2066, 2067.

²⁶⁵ Cf. also Brett 107.

²⁶⁶ Though for Mitannian and earlier altars see Stein 1987, 239.

²⁶⁷ 542 is discussed by Porada (1986). She notes its similarity to the Foroughi seal which she ascribes to Elam because of the owner's name, Teumman-abu, and because of the lack of Mitannian parallels for the posture of the animals facing the tree. Although there are good cases of this (484, 608 and 475, which is probably Assyrian on account of the tree) we are certainly not dealing with ordinary Mitannian and she enumerates the Babylonian elements (though the 'swimming man' has little in common with the kneeling man of 28 etc). The Elamite comparanda, of quite different periods, which she gives to the flower with two leaves do not seem very convincing to me. There is a much closer parallel in the contemporary Second Kassite seal, 185. Nonetheless Porada is probably correct on its date and Iranian origin.

²⁶⁸ See Stein 1987, 239-241 for a discussion. She compares the chair to the animal-headed Elamite chair (Porada 1946, 257-9) and to later Luristan metalwork, and concludes that it is bird-headed. On her impression the cutting is too crude for this to be very convincing, except in the general Elamite context of the scene. 542, on the other hand, is competently engraved, and there the chair-back (which looks most uncomfortable) does not resemble the birds' heads on the same seal. I have no suggestion on what it does resemble.

²⁶⁹ Note the specific characterisation of the mace with a loop at the end in 479, 537 and the Drouot seal cited in the next footnote; it also occurs in 517. This shows that the mace is an identifier for some particular person or office.

²⁷⁰ Professor W.G. Lambert has much sharpened my thoughts on these seals in a correspondence in which he kindly drew my attention to the very extraordinary seal no. 284 in the *Nouveau Drouot* sale catalogue 21-22 Septembre 1982. He tells me that it belonged to one Assur-iddin, thus confirming that these seals come from Assyria. It seems most unlikely that Assur itself is the source, but Nineveh, the provenance of BM 89806, is a reasonable possibility - in Assyria, but important enough to have its own traditions. The distinctive posture of the dominated monsters on the Drouot seal is similar to 471 and 607, which may indicate that these unusual styles are also from the north of Assyria. 607 has a demon with a long, almost Cypriote, skirt comparable to the Drouot seal, and its straggly guilloche gives some reason to suppose that the extraordinary guilloche-dress on the latter could be original. Seals of this period are so rare that it is rather remarkable that both 471 and 607 are from Greece: we may also cite 285 and 495 (cf. also 456, 460). 285 is the only one of these in a pure Assur style and it may be that northern Assyria had better connections with the west at this time, before relations with Hatti became very bad (Porada 1979, 8; cf. in the other direction, VR 583).

are Mitannian but the kneeling archer, like the one in 537, looks Assyrian, while the thick-necked griffin is surely pseudo-Kassite (see Boehmer 1981, 77). The animals dominated by the demon in the upper register also have an eastern appearance.²⁷¹ The general effect is close to the Assyrian Fan scene seal 519.

It is impossible to tell whether these scattered instances amount to a Mitannian source of the Fan Scene, or whether they are all more or less under Assyrian influence. The pseudo-Kassite Fan Scene, on the other hand, is surely later and derived from the Elamite one. We have already noticed pseudo-Kassite and Second Kassite elements in 520 and 542. Purely pseudo-Kassite examples include 239 (found at Assur!), 240 and Choga Zanbil 10.²⁷² Choga Zanbil 9 may be another case. The scene did not, however, become very firmly rooted in pseudo-Kassite, and is unknown in Second Kassite. 541, on the other hand, shows it in what may be a transitional Elamite - Third Kassite guise.

4.9 Conclusion.

In summary, therefore, the Fan Scene existed in a number of eclectic Mitannian styles in the mid fourteenth century and an important Assyrian series slightly later. From one of these it then passed into the major Elamite banqueting series, from which it affected some pseudo-Kassite seals and probably some of the later Mitannian and Third Kassite ones as well. In Assyria the ritual scenes evolved away from the Fan Scene and had still not rediscovered it in the time of Tiglath-pileser I. But probably soon afterwards the Linear Style began in Assyria under Elamite influence,²⁷³ which included Fan Scenes as in 540, CANES 665-673. CANES 1104, on the other hand, shows its continuation at the same time in Elam (Porada 1970, 12, 61).

The Atlantid Scene, in contrast, has a development which rarely touches that of the Fan Scene. It originated in the local style of Kirkuk²⁷⁴ and was one of the main components of the initial Assyrian inheritance. It was, however, in decline by the time of the greatest popularity of the Fan Scene. In the thirteenth century the Atlantid Scene gained a new lease of life in Hittite iconography, and may well have returned to Assyria from there just before the Hittite empire collapsed.

This opposition continued in the neo-Assyrian period, where the Fan Scene is usually found in the common Linear Style, while the Atlantid Scene inhabited an environment of better quality. But both alike seem by then to be specially related to the ritual aspects of kingship.²⁷⁵

On this view the ritual scenes are always significant, as pictorial representations of a doctrine in the case of the Atlantid scenes, or of ritual actions which themselves may have represented a doctrine, in the Fan Scene. Although both scenes show much variation, this is to be distinguished at least to some extent from the generated variation which we found in the later contest scenes. In the latter a standard format has locations which are filled randomly from a set of possible elements. There is no reason to suppose that the combination of elements means anything. The specific elements are chosen either from the continuation of the tradition from the earlier contest scenes which did mean something (human, lion, animal), or from a similarity to them in the formal possibilities of the other elements, so as to produce as attractive design.

To a certain extent this is true also of the bearers in the Atlantid Scene, as the formal requirement, that there should be a pair of hands to do the supporting, is their main common factor. For this reason it is difficult to define the edges of the scene, as it is not difficult to move to less clearly significant scenes by means of small formal transformations. To demonstrate such an edge it would be necessary to find some restriction in the combinations which is not due to morphological factors; but there are so many possible bearers in relation to the number of known designs that one cannot convincingly assert a negative where a particular bearer is not found in a particular version of the scene. This is even more true of the Fan Scene, as (except in Elam) the number of styles and sub-styles is so large in relation to the number of known designs that it is difficult to tell whether any local trait belongs to a sub-style, or to a formal variant.

In short, the ritual designs are too diverse, and there are too few of them, for a formal analysis to determine their principles of composition. As a consequence, the description given here, relating them to notional Atlantid and Fan Scenes, is an undemonstrable assumption, made in an attempt to impose some order on this very confusing material. On the formal evidence it is equally possible that the various scenes are not different ways of expressing essentially continuous doctrines, but rather have many different meanings which have some things in common.²⁷⁶

²⁷¹ Pseudo-Kassite as 261, 262, 263; but they could be Mitannian: CANES 1036.

²⁷² Note also the possibly related First Kassite series, 30, 31, 32.

²⁷³ Stein 1987, 241, Porada 1970, 62.

²⁷⁴ With some Old Syrian predecessors. Note that the Fan Scene in its Mitannian forms does not occur in the specific Kirkuk style.

²⁷⁵ Teissier 1984, 36, 43; Mayer-Opificius 1984, 199.

²⁷⁶ Though even in this case I do not believe that many of the ritual scenes can be purely ornamental, because there are too many elements which would make excellent sense as items of ritual equipment, but which contribute little to the artistic effectiveness of the scenes.

There are two reasons for the view adopted here, which both depend on the neo-Assyrian evidence. The first is that although contest scenes form a much more important part of Middle Assyrian glyptic than ritual scenes, it is nonetheless the latter, especially the later Fan Scenes, which are most directly ancestral to neo-Assyrian glyptic. This suggests that the ritual designs may well be the outcome of a more coherent conceptual system than is immediately apparent, perhaps one which in our period found its primary expression in other ways.

The second is that the bearers in the Atlantid scenes are certainly related to the group of demons which occurs in neo-Assyrian foundation figurines.²⁷⁷ As the latter are a coherent set governed by a body of doctrine, and not just a random collection of demons, it is reasonable to suppose that the Atlantid bearers also belong to a defined group, and hence that the Atlantid Scene has a meaning at least as their field of action.

Although the internal consistency of neither the Fan scenes nor of the Atlantid designs is secure, there is a consistent difference between them, in that the former never include fantastic beings²⁷⁸ (as opposed to anthropomorphic gods), while the latter usually do. Thus the Atlantid scenes are direct representations of the supernatural world, while the Fan scenes show humans performing real actions, whether secular or ritual.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Green 1983. For their earliest history see Black 1988.

²⁷⁸ Except possibly 490.

²⁷⁹ Even where gods are depicted they are localised in the natural world receiving the worship of men in their temples. Presumably the priests believed this occurred.

5. Conclusion.

5.1 The fourteenth century revolution.

In the Kassite and Assyrian chapters I have referred to the close similarities between the developments of the fourteenth century in southern and northern Mesopotamia. The Babylonian component here is the Second Kassite style, for which most of the dating evidence is concentrated in the last years of the century. Unfortunately the Assyrian evidence for this vital period is defective. The view of Assyria adopted here is that it underwent two fundamental changes in the fourteenth century. In the first half, during the reign of Eriba-Adad, it established itself as a style separate from Kirkuk Mitannian, by selecting and building on certain Mitannian traits, specifically those not inherited by Kirkuk from Old Babylonian.¹ This early Assyrian style only lasted as such during the reign of Assuruballit, until in the last years of the century it was radically changed again to produce the mature Assyrian style in the early thirteenth century. In terms of abstract artistic values the first transformation may have been more fundamental; but with respect to the specific scenes and motives the second one changed much more. It is difficult to find much in common between the styles of Assuruballit and Adad-nirari. It is this second transformation that we are concerned with here. As the evidence from impressions is deficient for the period between Assuruballit and Adad-nirari it is hard to trace its course precisely; nonetheless a fairly convincing picture can be obtained.²

There are three main series of designs in Second Kassite, the Chthonic God series, the seals with animals flanking trees, and the ones with a standing human figure of First Kassite appearance. This last series has no Assyrian equivalent.³ The Chthonic God series, as I have suggested⁴ may be an equivalent of the Atlantid series in Assyria. Both are particularly characteristic scenes which lack a standard form but instead appear in many imaginative variations on the central theme, which seems in both cases to be the cycle of nature, centred on the flowing waters in Babylonia, and on the sun in the heavens in Assyria. The main difficulty is that the Atlantid scene is more specifically attached to the first Assyrian transformation in the early fourteenth century than the second, especially in the version where the bearers raise a stool beneath the winged disk. Nonetheless we find it also at the end of the century;⁵ and in Babylonia the water scene seems to be characteristic of the very earliest Second Kassite designs.⁶

The designs with animals flanking trees, on the other hand, represent a later development of the revolution. In Assyria we have assigned them to the reign of Adad-nirari in the early thirteenth century, while in Babylonia the first case is **164** which is a generation later than **130**.

Turning to the individual motives, we find that the new styles have much in common. Both show a remarkable interest in animal forms which had previously been only of secondary importance. Second Kassite adopts dynamic relationships and demonic figures which seem more typical of Assyria, while an interest in landscape appears to come first in Babylonia (**130**). Both styles have the same repertory of trees, a palm,⁷ an elaborated volute-tree,⁸ and the twisted tree.⁹ These show characteristic differences. The Second Kassite palm is often tripartite,¹⁰ though not always; the Assyrian one never is. The Second Kassite volute tree usually has its typical fruits like bunches of grapes, while the Assyrian one has complicated arrangements of tendrils. The earliest Assyrian twisted trees are always set on a 'hill' and the branches are shown individually, while in Second Kassite the hill is rare (**130**) and the branches are superimposed on the outline of the foliage.¹¹ Both styles favour a syntax with two vertical elements separated by two diagonal ones, but in Second Kassite one vertical element is a terminal not organically part of the scene (e.g. **129**, **138**), while in Assyrian both elements are often tied in to the whole design (e.g. **289**, **329**). In both styles inscriptions may be present and are often horizontal or irregularly distributed around the design (e.g. **130**, **290**).

¹ For this process see Beran 1957.

² See the section on the Adad-nirari style in the Assyrian chapter, especially the section on Trees, p. 91-2. **285-303**, **475**, **516** may be assigned in general terms to this phase.

³ Unless conceivably the early ritual scenes.

⁴ After Mayer-Opificius 1984, 203.

⁵ **475**, to be dated thus from the tree.

⁶ **130** is the earliest dated seal in the style; cf. also the Kara-indash temple at the end of the fifteenth century.

⁷ e.g. **166**, **288**.

⁸ e.g. **193**, **286**. Note a tree of this kind in the best Hittite and Mitannian seals of this time: **496**, **608**; also in pseudo-Kassite, e.g. **250**, **261**, **263**, **265**, **266**.

⁹ e.g. **173**, **431**.

¹⁰ e.g. **133**, **145**, **186**.

¹¹ Beran 1957-8, 268. This usage occurs in later Assyrian trees, which also abandon the 'hill', e.g. **343**.

Both styles include isolated symbols, especially in the upper field. The main Assyrian symbols of this period are the star, crescent, 'stirrup', cross, disk, swooping bird, and to some extent the rosette.¹² Second Kassite simply continued the First Kassite tradition here: cross, rhomb, rosette, dog, corn ear, locust and bird.¹³ Animals are less obviously fillers, though an interesting innovation is the small animal below a larger one which is also found in the Assyrian seals.¹⁴ The Assyrian list is more specifically astral than the Babylonian, in accordance with the more astral emphasis of the Atlantid scene compared to the water scene. For our purposes the cross and the birds are the most informative. Presumably the cross is basically Babylonian,¹⁵ but if the Assyrians borrowed it from there they gave it their own special form, while Second Kassite retained the First Kassite framed cross.¹⁶ Birds occur in both First Kassite and early Assyrian, in both cases usually of Mitannian appearance. The birds of this later period, however, are as we might expect both innovatory and imaginative. In Assyria we have the swooping bird, (e.g. 292, 345, 434). while in Second Kassite there are two typical birds: the fish-eagle with outstretched wings¹⁷ and the birds sitting in pairs in trees.¹⁸ 131 shows the Second Kassite interest in birds taken to an extreme.

The parallelism between the Assyrian and Second Kassite styles of around 1300 BC may also be demonstrated by some more isolated traits. Animals' horns are sometimes shown split at the ends.¹⁹ Archery, rarely depicted earlier, appears first in Babylonia 161 and later in Assyria.²⁰ Likewise the predatory lion may well be a Babylonian innovation (151) taken up more strongly in Assyria. Ploughing scenes occur occasionally in both.²¹

These developments together constitute a fundamental revolution in the artistic traditions of both Babylonia and Assyria, which on the present evidence seems to have been carried forward at the same time in both. In the next section I shall sketch the history of the period to show why this fourteenth century revolution is of the first importance not just in the later second millennium BC but also in the whole course of the Mesopotamian civilisation.

5.2 The fourteenth century revolution in Mesopotamian history.

The history of Mesopotamia is a succession of periods about which much is known interspersed with Dark Ages which remain obscure. It is conventional, after the model of post-Mycenaean Greece and post-Roman Britain, to regard these Dark Ages as periods of very low cultural achievement which effectively punctuate the history into self-contained epochs.²² However the essential continuity of every aspect of Mesopotamian civilization from its inception is the most convincing testimony against this view.

In most of the great phases of Mesopotamian history one can speak of some place or region which carried the main development, which the other areas than copied or adapted, such as Sumer and Akkad in the third millennium or Assyria in the first. Even in the early second millennium, when there was an important and indigenous style in Syria, its debt to Babylonia is obvious. In the late second millennium this is not so. The styles look in many different directions: First Kassite and Mitannian backwards, Assyrian forwards, Egyptianising, Aegeanising and Hittite outwards, and Cypriote inwards to itself. This half millennium is more diverse and confusing than any other in Mesopotamian history.

The problem of the relationship between cultural and political developments is a difficult one, and there is no question that they can be sometimes quite disjoint. The political role of the island of Cyprus, for example, is

¹² The rosette did not survive into the time of Adad-nirari but occurs, often in pairs, in some late fourteenth century seals, e.g. 285, 287, 302, 466, 479, cf. 458, 470, 471, 495.

¹³ Note that except for the last, for which see below, these are all Central symbols in the First Kassite analysis.

¹⁴ 166, 302, 320, 436; cf. 152, 167 and 182 which are difficult to classify.

¹⁵ Although the earliest dated case in our period is the seal of Eriba-Adad (476).

¹⁶ e.g. 436, 502; 129, 137, 186.

¹⁷ e.g. 147, 180.

¹⁸ e.g. 186, 192.

¹⁹ e.g. 133, 138, 139, 300.

²⁰ 313, 314, 13 Glyptik 18. Note also the pseudo-Kassite archer of 259 etc. As this was an 'Elaborate Elamite' trait not found in the simpler pseudo-Kassite designs, and as another was an elaborated tree, it may be that these more detailed pseudo-Kassite designs resulted from the same processes as those we are tracing in Assyrian and Second Kassite, conceivably then as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. Their interest in birds may then have a parallel in the pseudo-Kassite 'carriage-birds' motive of 241 etc.

²¹ 155, 156, 306, 13 Glyptik 67.

²² Note that this oscillation in the cultural level does not correspond to the 'rise and fall of empires'. Periods of imperial greatness are, on the whole, exceptional (see Michalowski 1987, 56) and several periods of cultural achievement were accompanied by political disunity, e.g. most of the Isin-Larsa period. Likewise there are periods of political centralisation about which we know little: e.g. the Kassite and Mitanni kingdoms seem to be past their peak when we first have a reasonable amount of evidence for their history in the fourteenth century.

much inferior to its cultural importance; while the cultural influence of Egypt, though substantial, is small in relation to its international pre-eminence. The Palestinian states, though they were under Egyptian control for most of the period, adopted Mesopotamian glyptic conventions and even corresponded with their overlord in the cuneiform writing.

The international situation consisted of a series of great powers each surrounded by a number of lesser ones. Egypt and Babylon were great powers throughout the period, though Babylon experienced short foreign conquests. During the Dark Age of the middle of the millennium Mitanni was a third great power, but soon after it becomes possible to construct a proper history from the Amarna archive Mitanni was replaced as the dominant state in Syria by the Hittites. This political revolution, which was effected by Suppiluliumas I in the middle of the fourteenth century, marks the end of a millennium in which Syria was a major political and cultural entity in her own right, and the beginning of an even longer period in which the possession of Syria was one of the primary aims of any aspiring Near Eastern state.

From this time until the end of the thirteenth century the Hittites and Egypt were largely preoccupied with each other. This second phase in the history of the time saw the rise of first Assyria and then Elam at the expense of Babylon and the remains of Mitanni. The conquests of Suppiluliumas were a political catastrophe, not a cultural one, and the subsequent 150 years saw an extraordinary and fresh flowering of Near Eastern civilization, such as had not occurred since the Akkadian period a thousand years before.

The second phase ended as it began with military disasters. The Assyrians and the Elamites plundered Babylon; the whole west, including the Hittite empire, collapsed in the event or events known as the 'invasion of the Peoples of the Sea'; and Egypt, which itself only barely survived, lost contact with the Mesopotamian countries. There, however, Babylon recovered its independence, and with Elam and Assyria continued much as before, if in somewhat straitened circumstances, for another century or so, until in the eleventh century another Dark Age set in.

In the late third millennium a repertory of forms, especially arm types, was assembled in Babylonia which reached a fixed canonical form in the early second millennium. There is some reason to suppose that these forms were derived from the greater sculpture (e.g. the martial king occurs in the Stele of Naram-Sin several centuries before it became prevalent in glyptic). In the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries the Old Babylonian style flowered in a great variety of sub-styles, which, however, were rigidly constrained by the Babylonian standard. Some of these styles took root in foreign countries such as Elam and Mari, and Old Babylonian even impinged on the glyptic of Syria which in imagination and technique was its superior.

After the eighteenth century, unfortunately, the evidence becomes deficient. The rise of the drilled style was accompanied by a loss in quality, and in general terms the styles of the first phase of the later second millennium, ending in the fourteenth century, are still within the Babylonian standard. But First Kassite in Babylonia, and Mitannian in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, are both the products of thorough transformations which makes it difficult to define their exact ancestry among the Old Babylonian sub-styles.

The second phase, in the later fourteenth and the thirteenth century, saw the most glyptic variety. The Mitannian style continued without any discernible originality, and the spirit of First Kassite lingered on in pseudo-Kassite, but new styles emerged in Assyria, Babylonia (Second Kassite), Syria (Hittite), Elam and Cyprus. All of these regions except Elam produced glyptic of great originality and the highest quality, though the Mesopotamian styles were still within the general Mesopotamian tradition.²³

In the third phase there was survival, but not originality. Assyrian glyptic maintained its standards for at least a century, and spawned sub-Assyrian styles in Syria, Babylonia (Third Kassite) and Elam. But the older Elamite style also survived to affect the neo-Assyrian Linear style which began some time after 1100 BC. From then onwards, until the end of the cylinder seal in the Achaemenid period, all styles were more or less adaptations of Assyrian.

In this way the later second millennium is less a self-contained period in Mesopotamian history than a turning point. Just as the career of Sargon of Akkad coincided with the beginning of the Akkadian-Babylonian tradition which dominated Near Eastern art until its last rather pathetic appearance in pseudo-Kassite, so that of Suppiluliumas I marks the beginning of the Assyrian tradition which was to last almost as long. The changes between the Old Babylonian period and our first phase, or between the third phase and the neo-Assyrian period, are insignificant compared to those which took place within our period.

In this sense the developments of the fourteenth century constitute an artistic revolution which was more important than any other in Mesopotamian history after the Akkadian period. The immediate effect of that revolution was the substitution of a vibrant chaos of different styles in the place of the old and tired ones that had survived the Dark Age; and it was only with the temporary eclipse of Babylon and the permanent disappearance of the Hittite empire a century and a half later that Assyrian became the new standard.

²³ In the same way that the Akkadian artistic revolution was effected without breaking the continuity of Mesopotamian culture.

6. Bibliography

6.1 Note

This book uses a triple system of reference. Basic page references are of the form Brinkman 1976, 152 and refer directly to the Bibliography. These are used for all *text* references and the other forms depend on them. Although many *seals* are referred to in this way, e.g. Collon 1987, no. 238, it would be clumsy to do so for the major sources. Here a set of standard abbreviations is used, which are referred to the bibliography in the list on p. 133. All references of the first kind, with a date, refer to a page number unless otherwise specified; but all seal abbreviations refer to a seal or figure number, e.g. Marcopoli 570 means seal no. 570 in Teissier 1984. 626 seals are illustrated here and these are referred to directly in bold figures, e.g. **300**. They are explained by an entry in the List of Illustrations on p. 136.

The abbreviations listed on this page are only used in the Bibliography; the ones on p. 133 are used elsewhere.

6.2 List of Abbreviations used in the Bibliography.

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology.
An.St.	Anatolian Studies.
BAH	Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique.
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen.
Bib.Mes.6	Gibson, McG. and Biggs, R.D. (eds) 1977. Seals and Sealings in the ancient Near East. <i>Bibliotheca Mesopotamica</i> 6. Malibu, Undena.
Bib.Mes.21	Kelly-Buccelati, M. (ed) 1986. Insight through images, Studies in honor of Edith Porada. <i>Bibliotheca Mesopotamica</i> 21. Malibu, Undena.
CAH	Edwards, I.E.S., Gadd, C.J., Hammond, N.G.L., Sollberger, E. (eds) 1973 (Part 1), 1975 (Part 2), 1977 (Plates). <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> volume II. Cambridge, University Press.
Cyprus and Crete.	Acts of the international archaeological symposium 'The relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 BC'. Nicosia 1979.
Ist.Mitt.	Istanbuler Mitteilungen.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
Lacheman Festschrift.	Morrison, M.A. and Owen, D.I. (eds) 1981. Studies on the civilisation and culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in honor of Ernest R. Lacheman. Winona Lake, Indiana.
MDAI	Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran.
Moortgat Festschrift.	Bittel, K. et al. (ed) 1964. Vorderasiatische Archäologie ... Anton Moortgat. Berlin, Mann.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago.
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
UF	Ugarit Forschungen.
Ugaritica III	C.F.A. Schaeffer 1956. Ugaritica III. <i>Mission de Ras Shamra</i> VIII. Paris, Geuthner.
WO	Die Welt des Orients.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie.

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7. Index and Illustrations

The Index is in two parts, the List of Illustrations and the Index of Seals. All seals are listed in the latter but illustrated seals are referred from there to the former by the illustration number in bold. Seals are listed in the index according to the abbreviations given below, which are also used in the text and in the illustration captions. Some abbreviations, such as *BM*, do not refer to a single publication: these are listed below in italics and are explained for each seal in the Index.

7.1 List of Abbreviations used in the text and in the Index

Adana	Tunca 1977
Aleppo	Hammade 1987
Ash	Buchanan 1966
Ash.supp.	Moorey-Gurney 1978
BE XIV	Clay 1906
<i>BIF (ex-Schmidt Collection, Biblisches Institut, Fribourg)</i>	
Birmingham	Lambert 1966
<i>BM</i>	(British Museum)
BM III	Collon 1986a
BN	Delaporte 1910
<i>Boston</i>	
Brett	von der Osten 1936
Brussels	Speleers 1917, 1943
Byblos	Dunand 1939
CANES	Porada 1948a
CCT VI	Garelli and Collon 1975
Cherkasky	Pittman 1987
Choga Zanbil	Porada 1970
de Clercq	de Clercq 1888
Collon AOAT	Collon 1975
Collon BAR	Collon 1982a
Copenhagen	Ravn 1960
Cugnin	Legrain 1911
Damascus	Homes-Fredericq 1982 = Kühne 1980 (n.b. the former does not illustrate the Sheikh Hamad impressions but does include supplementary material not included in the latter)
Diyala	Frankfort 1955
Emar	Beyer 1980
Enkomi	Porada 1971a
Failaka	Kjaerum 1983
Fakhariyah	Kantor 1958
<i>Foroughi</i>	
Geneva	Vollenweider 1967
Geneva III	Vollenweider 1983
12 Glyptik	Moorgat 1944
13 Glyptik	Moortgat 1942
14 Glyptik	Beran 1957
Gorelick	Noveck 1975
Guimet	Delaporte 1909
Gulbenkian	Lambert 1979
Hama	Riis 1948
Haskell	Williams 1927-8
<i>Hermitage</i>	(Leningrad)
Herzfeld Festschrift	Porada 1952
HSS XIV	Lacheman 1950
IB.SA	van Buren 1940
<i>IM</i>	(Iraq Museum)
Iraq 11	Parker 1949

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Iraq 37 | Parker 1975 |
| Iraq 39 | Parker 1977 |
| Isin I | Boehmer 1977 |
| Isin II | Hrouda 1981 |
| <i>Itkhia</i> | (King of Arrapkha) |
| <i>Itkhi-teshup</i> | (King of Arrapkha) |
| Kenna BM | Kenna 1971 |
| Ladders | Muscarella 1981a |
| <i>LBAF</i> | (Lands of the Bible Archaeology Foundation, Jerusalem) |
| Layard 1 | Borowski 1952 |
| Layard 2 | van Buren 1954b |
| Louvre A | Delaporte 1923 |
| Louvre D | Delaporte 1920 |
| Louvre K | Delaporte 1920 |
| Louvre S | Delaporte 1920 |
| Marcopoli | Teissier 1984 |
| Marlik | Negahban 1977 |
| Mazda | Limet 1978/9 |
| Mohammed Arab | Collon 1988 |
| Moore | Eisen 1940 |
| Moortgat Festschrift | Moortgat-Correns 1964 |
| Newell | von der Osten 1934 |
| <i>Nimrud</i> | |
| <i>Nemrik</i> | |
| Nippur I | McCown and Haines 1967 |
| Nuzi | Porada 1947 |
| Oppenländer | Moortgat-Correns 1968 |
| Peiser | Peiser 1905 |
| Philadelphia | Legrain 1925 |
| Pierson | Meijier 1977-8 |
| RS | Schaeffer-Forrer 1983 |
| <i>Saushtatar</i> | (King of Mitanni) |
| Sissa | van Buren 1959 |
| Southesk | Carnegie 1908 |
| Subeidi | Boehmer 1981 |
| Surkh Dum | Williams-Forte 1981 |
| Susa | Amiet 1972 |
| Thebes | Porada 1981/2 |
| Ugaritica III | Schaeffer 1956 |
| Ugaritica IV | Schaeffer 1962 |
| UET VII | Gurney 1974, pl. 79 |
| UEX | Legrain 1951 |
| VR | Moortgat 1940 |
| VR D | Moortgat 1940, pl. D |
| Walters | Gordon 1939 |
| Ward | Ward 1910 |
| Weber | Weber 1920 |
| Wien-Graz | Bleibtreu 1981 |
| Yale | Buchanan 1981 |

7.2 List and Index of Illustrations

The governing principle in compiling these illustrations has been to facilitate comparisons. With this in mind a large number has been collected and reproduced fairly small so that many seals can appear together on the same plate. Mme Keel-Leu very generously agreed to publication in the larger format to improve this. The section titles are indicative only and may not refer precisely to every seal in the section. It must be stressed that these illustrations are not intended as a source corpus. My drawings where I have not seen the seal myself should be treated with the utmost suspicion. I have found that seeing the original or a better photograph nearly always leads to significant changes in my understanding of the object. As a rough guide to the reliability of the drawings I have included a code in this list:

- W Reproduced from Ward (1910). Many of Ward's drawings are very good; others less so. Compare Ward nos. 586, 699, 956a, 1000. Some Ward drawings have been slightly touched up.
- D Reproduced or copied from a published or other drawing not made by me.
- S Drawing made by me from original seal.
- P Drawing made by me from a published or unpublished photograph. These are the least reliable drawings.

No attempt has been made to obtain consistency of scale or to give catalogue details: such information is bulky, easy to transmit inaccurately, and can be obtained from the original publications if it is required. The drawings of original seals were made at 2:1 and are reproduced at about one third larger than the seal, but there are minor variations in the reductions. **97**, an exceptionally large seal, was reduced twice. Most drawings not made by me are reproduced at their original scale, but this of course varies. Drawing conventions are not constant. My drawings do not include copies of the inscriptions, as I understand that such copies are of little value where the copyist does not know cuneiform and is thus unable to pay special attention to difficult places. In some cases further comments are given below. Sources of drawings are specified where they are not from or after the source cited.

The photographs are intended to give a feel for the style of a representative sample of the seals. They were selected largely according to what was available, but thanks to an almost universally positive response to my enquiries, especially by Dr Collon and Professor Porada, they give a good coverage. I have not included any ancient impressions as they are usually more informative than attractive. Lighting and scale are not constant. All photographs have a corresponding line drawing with the same number. They are indicated below by an asterisk.

First Kassite: Central Tradition

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| 3. BM 89853 | W. 56, 71, 72, 81, 86 |
| * 4. CANES 579 | P. 79, 80, 83, 86 |
| * 5. de Clercq 261 | W. 79, 83, 86 |
| 6. VR 557 | P. 80, 86 |
| 7. BN 296 | W. 57, 58, 70, 74, 77, 86 |
| 8. Brett 81 | P. 25, 77, 79, 86 |
| 9. BM 122696 | S. 18, 55, 57, 58, 59, 73, 80, 86 |
| 10. BN 295 | P. 86 |
| 11. Boston 98.698 | W. 57, 58, 70, 77, 80 |
| 12. Isin II 50 | D. 70, 78, 86 |
| 13. Moore 67 | P. 77, 80, 81, 86 |
| * 14. de Clercq 264 | W. 49, 67, 86 |
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| 24. Philadelphia 546 | P. 63, 75, 76, 79, 86 |
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| * 29. Wien-Graz 85 | P. 56, 81, 83 |
| 30. Nippur I pl. 121:10 | P. 51, 71-74, 76, 84, 86, 113 |
| 31. Philadelphia 547 | P. 51, 72, 75, 76, 84, 86, 113 |
| 32. Philadelphia 556 | D. 51, 71, 73, 74, 76, 79, 84, 86, 113 |
| 33. Southesk Qb 41 | S. 51, 57, 58, 63, 70, 72, 73, 74, 78, 86 |
| 34. BM 89128 | S. 58, 74, 81, 83, 86 |
| * 35. BM 89240 | S. 17, 65, 74, 81, 110 |
| 36. BM 130697 | S. 25, 74, 81, 83 |
| * 37. de Clercq 254 | W. 81, 83 |
| * 38. Louvre A606 | P. 57, 58, 70, 74, 79 |
| 39. Philadelphia 545 | P. 77, 81 |
| 40. Philadelphia 563 | D. 71, 74, 81, 83 |
| 41. Amiet 1973, no.456 | P. 70, 81, 83 |
| 42. Gorelick 31 | P. 81, 83 |
| * 43. IM 23584 | P. 86 |
| * 44. Ash. supp. 36 | P. 77, 86 |
| * 45. Lambert 1970, no.2 | P. 57, 70, 71, 74, 77, 83, 86 |
| * 46. Brussels 425 | P. 81, 83, 86 |
| 47. Philadelphia 552 | P. 71-74, 86 |
| 48. Nippur I pl. 121:4 | P. 71-74, 86 |
| * 49. BN 297 | W. 18, 25, 49, 58, 77, 86 |
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| 57. Newell 268 | P. 50, 71, 77, 81 |
| 58. Newell 276 | P. 57, 58, 70, 77, 86 |
| * 59. CANES 576 | W. 15 |

- * 60. CANES 577 W. 15, 57, 58, 70, 77
- 61. de Clercq 262 W. 80
- 62. BM 28797 S. 77, 83
- 63. Newell 662 P. 57, 58, 70, 77
- * 64. Louvre A601 P. 25, 72, 77, 83, 86
- * 65. CANES 583 P. 72, 77, 86
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- 67. BM 89150 S. 71, 81, 86
- 68. BM 114704 S. 57, 58, 59, 70, 74, 78, 79
- 69. BM 89134 S. 57, 70, 74
- * 70. de Clercq 253 W. 3, 86

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- 74. BN 294 P. 25, 77, 78, 80, 87
- 75. CANES 572 W. 77, 87
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- * 78. BM 89001 S. 17, 60, 70, 71, 77, 78, 83, 87
- * 79. BIF 101 (ex-Schmidt 198) P. 83, 87
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- 81. Nuzi 696 P. 71, 74, 76, 78, 82, 87
- 82. Iraq 11-3 P. 70, 78, 79, 80, 87
- 83. Nuzi 695 P. 71, 78, 87
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- 85. Moore 69 P. 25, 78, 80, 87
- * 86. de Clercq 228 P. 78, 79, 87
- * 87. BM 89173 S. 17, 18, 55, 78, 80, 87
- * 88. BM 89182 S. 71, 79, 87
- * 89. Birmingham 56 P. 55, 72, 75, 76, 87
- 90. BM 138139 S. 18, 49, 55, 72, 80
- 91. Nuzi 686 P. 55, 71, 72
- 92. Nuzi 687 P. 55, 71, 72, 76
- 93. BM 89258 S. 51, 78, 87
- 94. Philadelphia 542 D. 71, 74, 75, 76, 87
- 95. Nuzi 688 P. 57, 71, 72, 73, 80, 87
- * 96. Ash 560 P. 73, 75, 76, 77, 87
- * 97. CANES 574 W. 20, 73, 75, 80, 81
- 98. Nuzi 689 P. 57, 71
- 99. Nuzi 700 P. 25, 71, 74, 75
- 100. Ward 531 W. 25, 71, 78, 87
- * 101. Ash. supp. 37 P. 67, 73, 87
- * 102. CANES 573 P. 76
- 103. CANES 585 P. 75, 78
- 104. HSS XIV 293 P. 71, 72, 74, 76
- 105. Nuzi 691 D. 71, 72
- 106. Nuzi 699 P. 71, 74, 76
- 107. Scheil 1916, no. 27 P. 21, 75, 76
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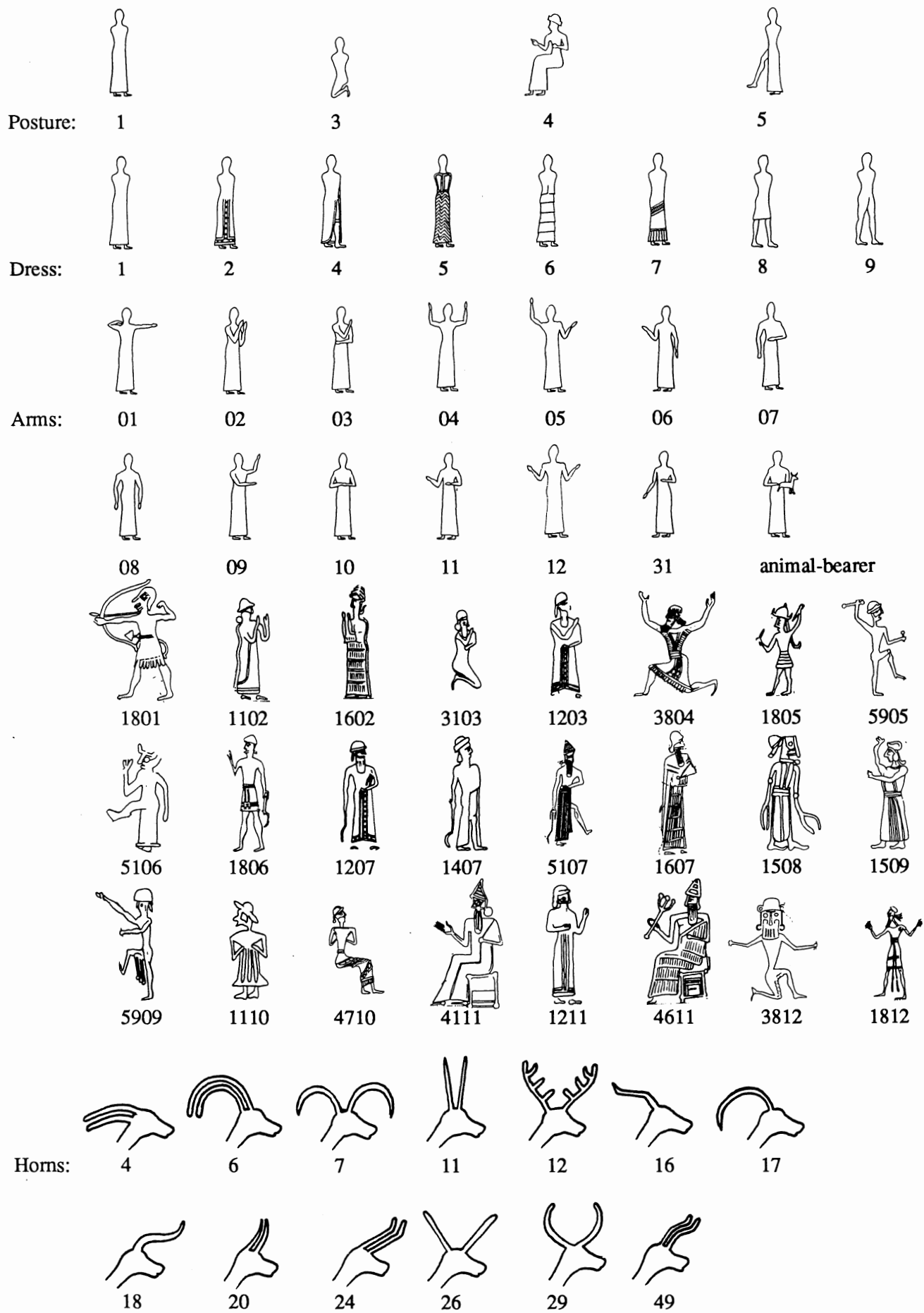
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ILLUSTRATIONS
(LINE DRAWINGS)

I



Good convention:



A. 1602-1110-4111



B. 1602-1807-5106



C. 1602-1103-5131



D. 1602-bearer-4611 (Sippar)

Provincial Babylonian:



E. 1602-1807-1602



F. 1807-1602



G. 1602-bearer-5131

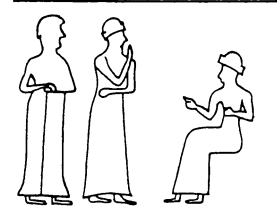


H. 1602-1103-5111

Poor convention:



I. 1102-1110-4111



J. 1110-1103-4111



K. 1111-1103-5131



L. 1811-1103-1131

Linear style:



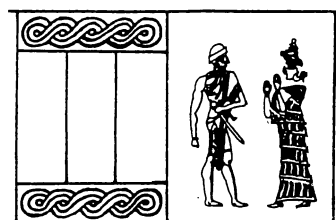
M. 1103-1807-1602



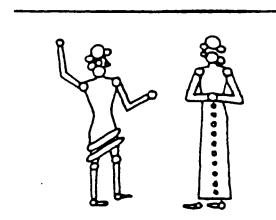
N. 1807-1602



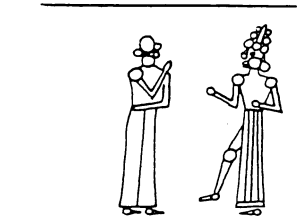
O. 1807-1631



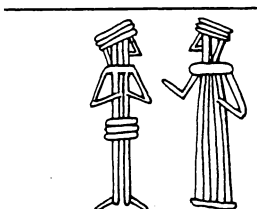
P. 1807-1602 (Mari)



Drilled style: Q. smiting god - 1110



R. 1103-5111



Schematic Elamite: S. nude female - 1111



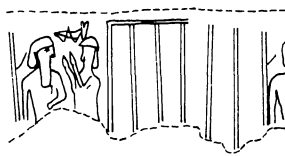
T. Elamite Man - 1111



U. bearer - 5111



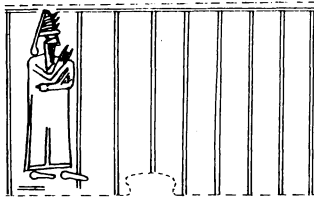
1. Philadelphia 530



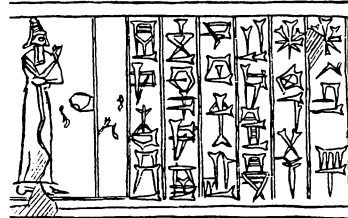
2. Gulbenkian 59



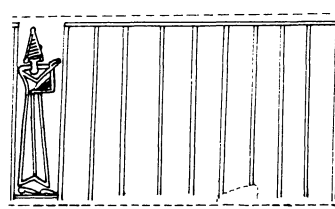
3. BM 89853



4. CANES 579



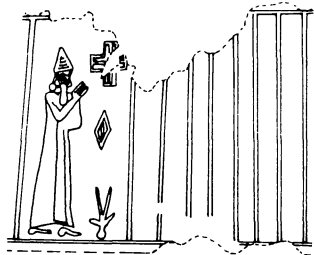
5. de Clercq 261



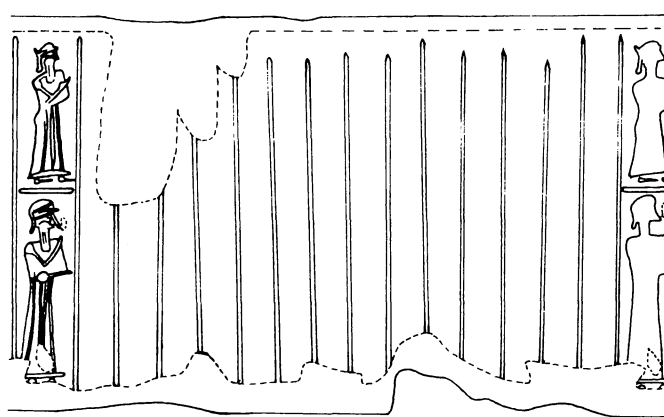
6. VR 557



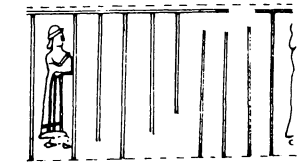
7. BN 296



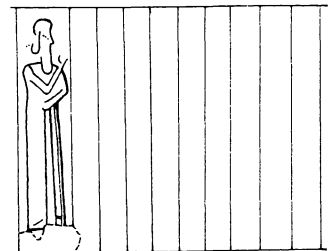
8. Brett 81



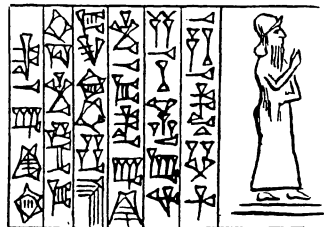
9. BM 122696



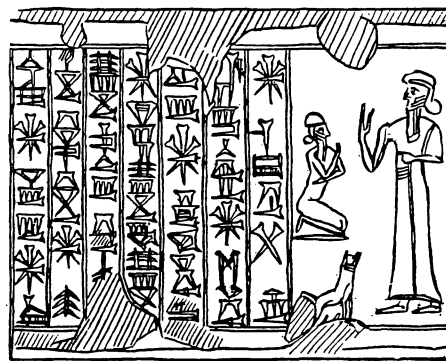
10. BN 295



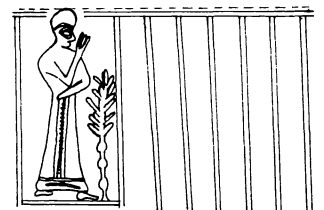
12. Isin II 50



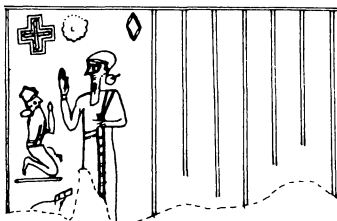
11. Boston 98.698



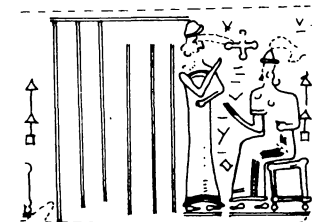
14. de Clercq 264



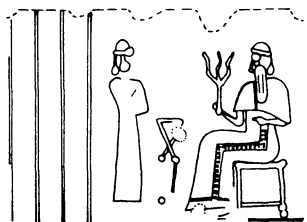
13. Moore 67



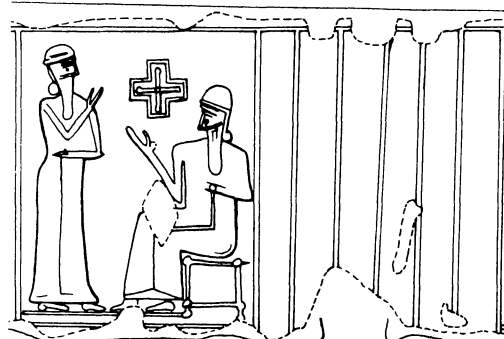
15. Brussels 422



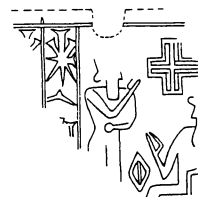
18. BN 298



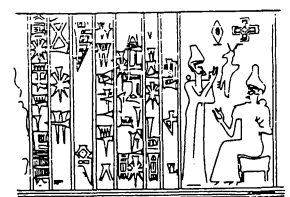
16. Ash 559



17. BM 89015



19. Philadelphia 554



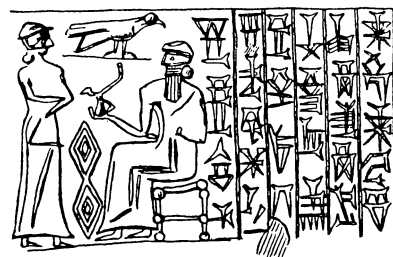
20. BE XIV pl. 15:1-2



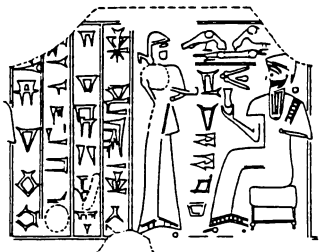
21. Philadelphia 557



22. CANES 575



23. de Clercq 257



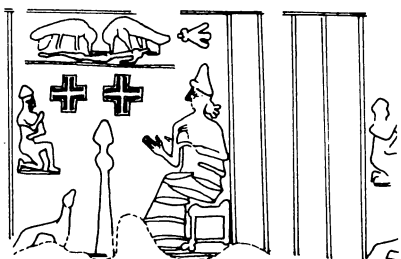
24. Philadelphia 546



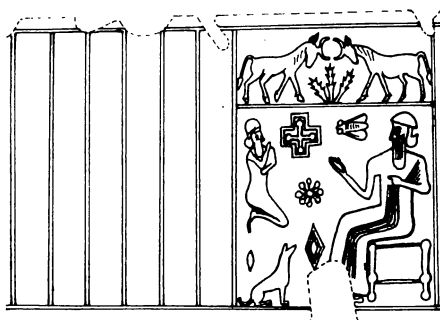
25. de Clercq 258



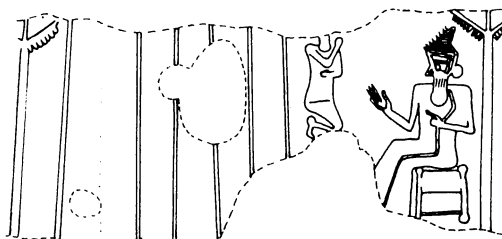
26. BM 89044



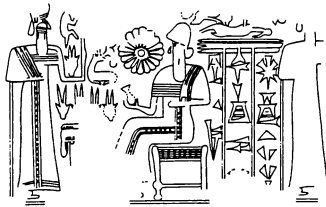
27. Hermitage 6516



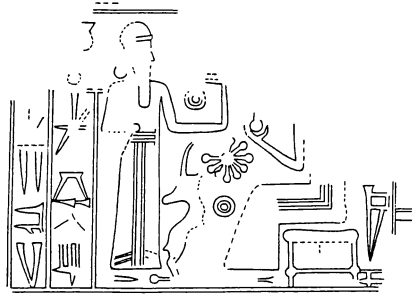
28. VR 554



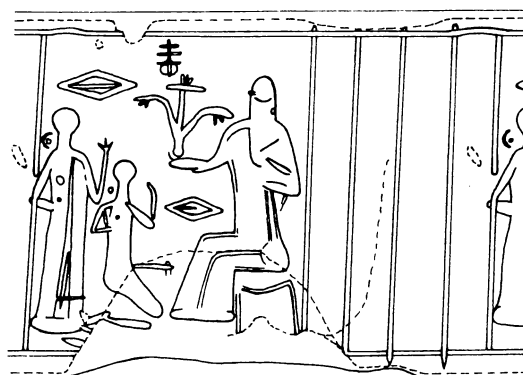
29. Wien-Graz 85



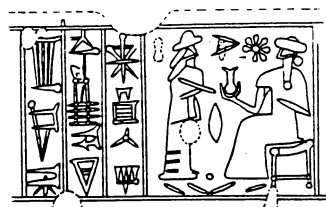
30. Nippur I pl. 121:10



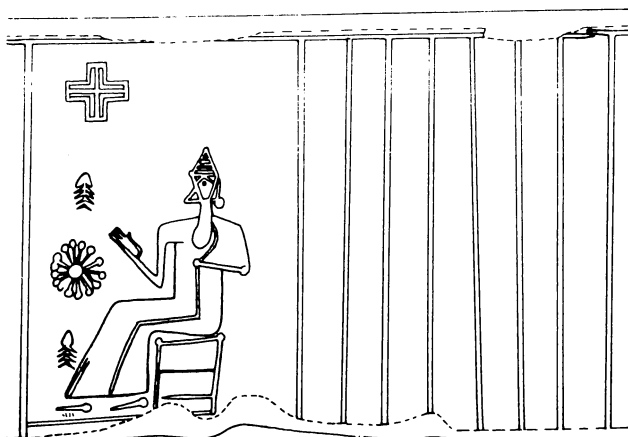
32. Philadelphia 556



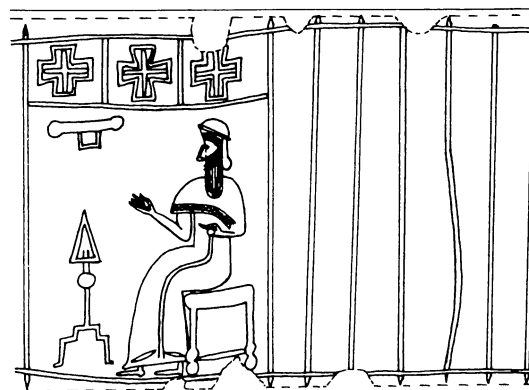
33. Southesk Qb 41



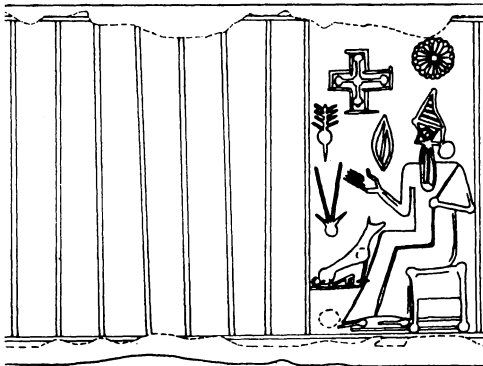
31. Philadelphia 547



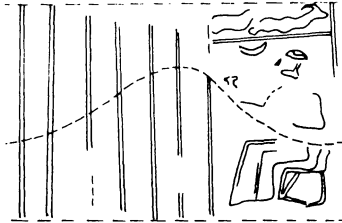
34. BM 89128



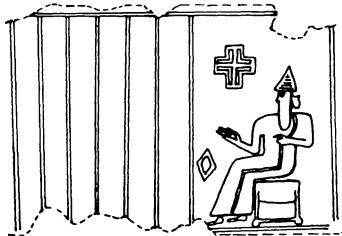
35. BM 89240



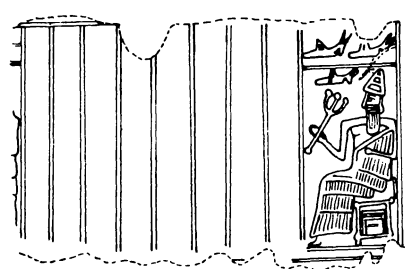
36. BM 130697



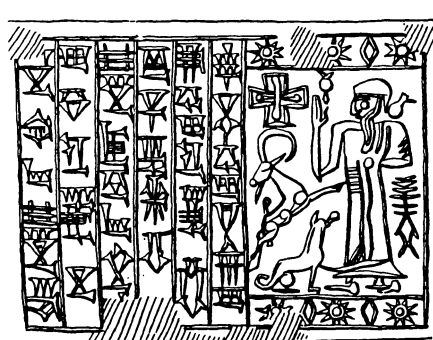
39. Philadelphia 545



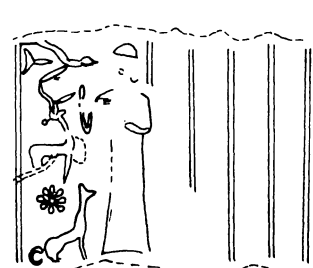
42. Gorelick 31



45. Lambert 1970, no.2



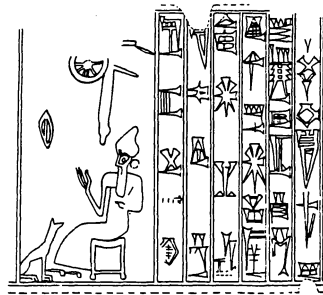
49. BN 297



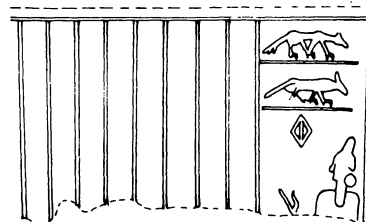
51. Louvre A598



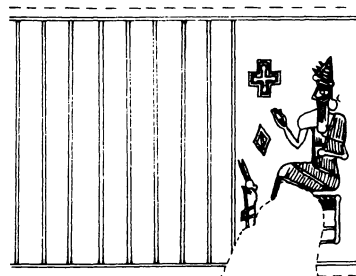
37. de Clercq 254



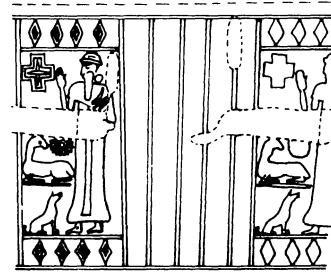
40. Philadelphia 563



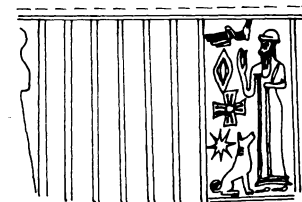
43. IM 23584



46. Brussels 425



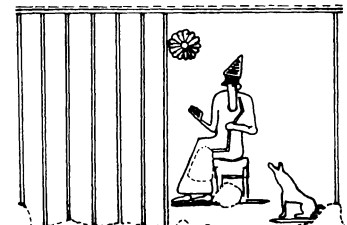
50. Hama fig. 188



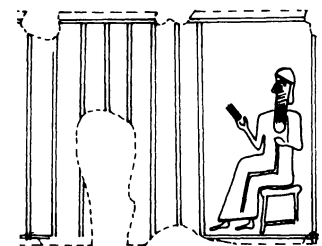
52. Louvre A599



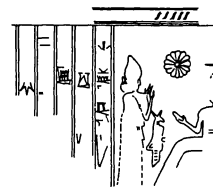
38. Louvre A606



41. Amiet 1973, no.456



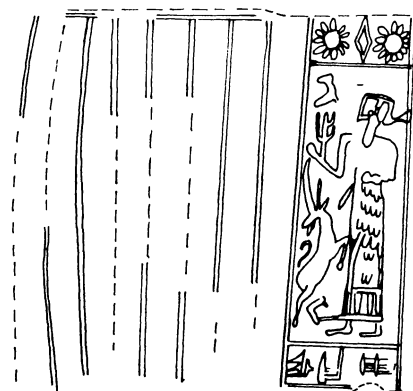
44. Ash. supp. 36



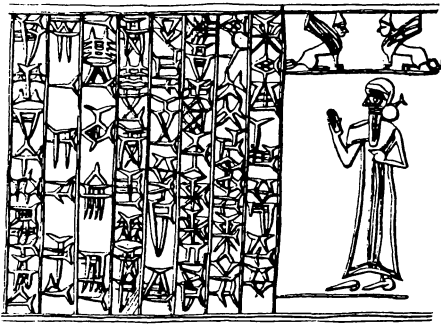
47. Philadelphia 552



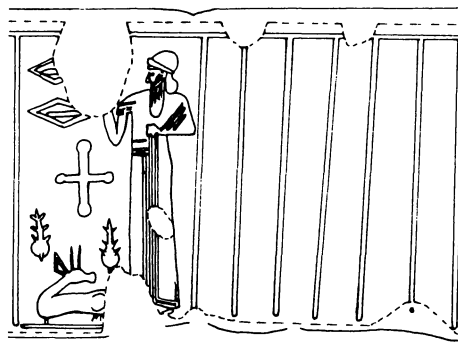
48. Nippur I pl. 121:4



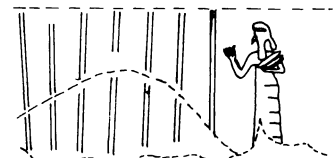
53. Newell 663



54. Ward 516



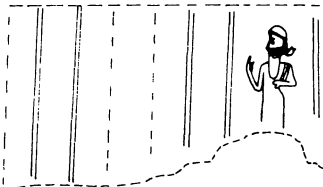
55. BM 89114



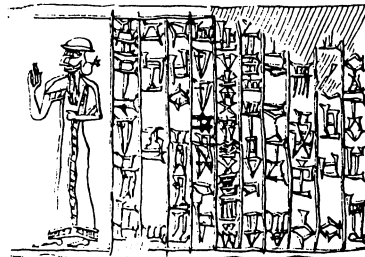
56. de Clercq 267



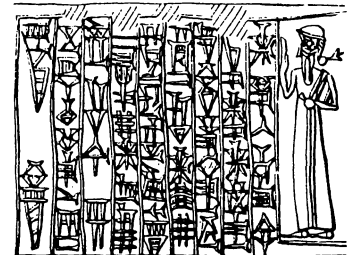
57. Newell 268



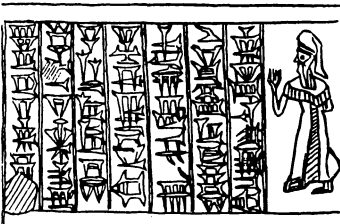
58. Newell 276



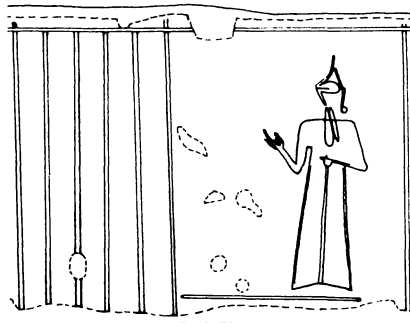
59. CANES 576



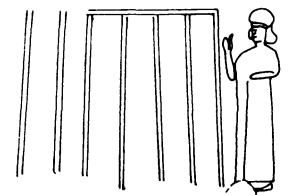
60. CANES 577



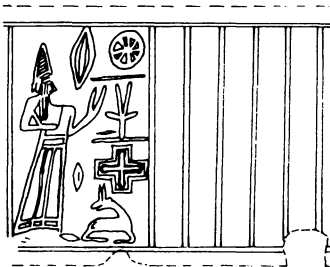
61. de Clercq 262



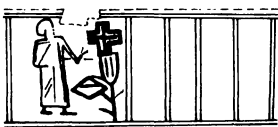
62. BM 28797



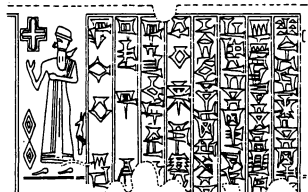
63. Newell 662



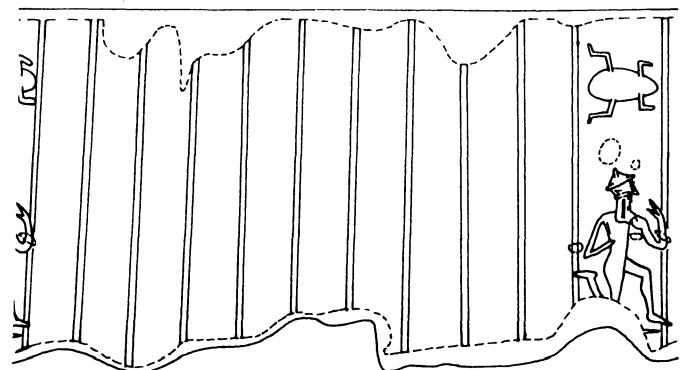
64. Louvre A601



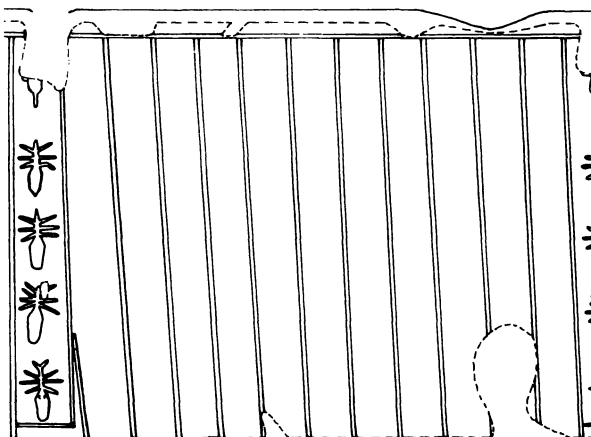
65. CANES 583



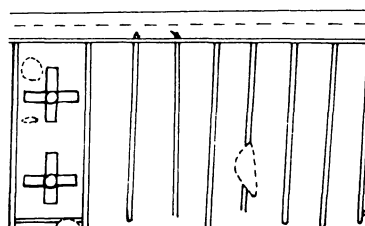
66. Philadelphia 531



67. BM 89150



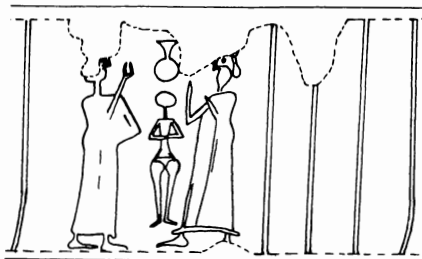
68. BM 114704



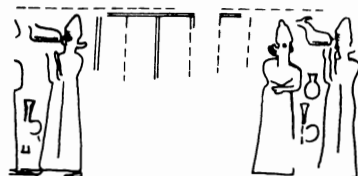
69. BM 89134



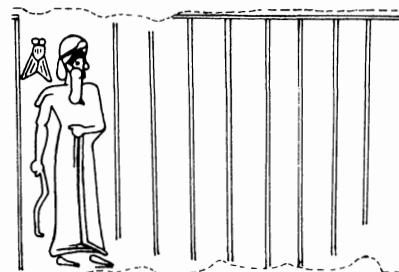
70. de Clercq 253



71. BM 89849



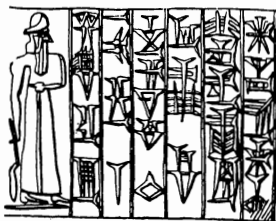
72. Nuzi 694



73. CANES 571



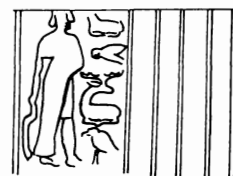
74. BN 294



75. CANES 572



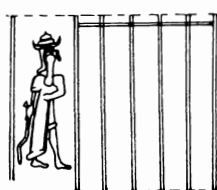
76. CANES 570



77. Nuzi 706



78. BM 89001



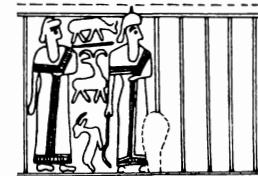
79. BIF 101 (ex-Schmidt 198)



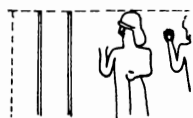
80. Nimrud ND 5374



81. Nuzi 696



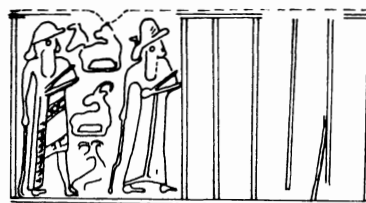
82. Iraq 11-3



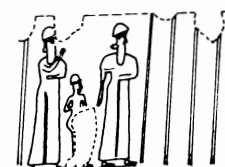
83. Nuzi 695



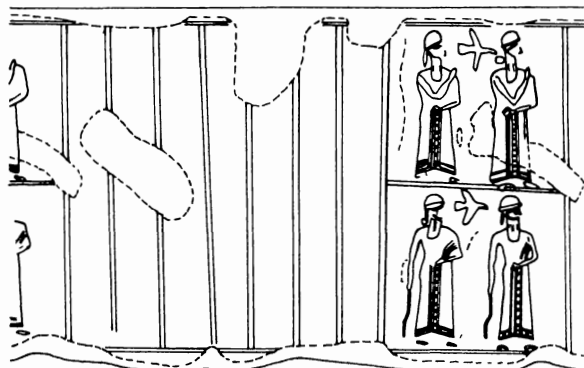
84. de Clercq 266



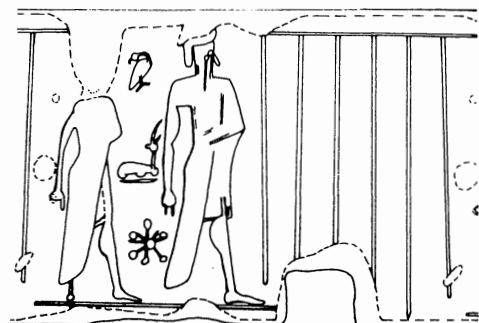
85. Moore 69



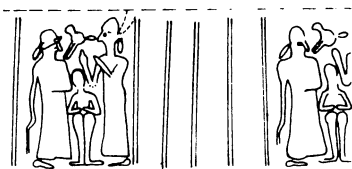
86. de Clercq 228



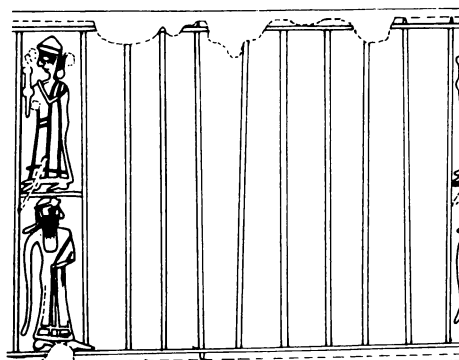
87. BM 89173



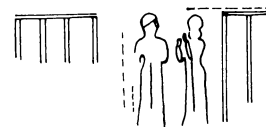
88. BM 89182



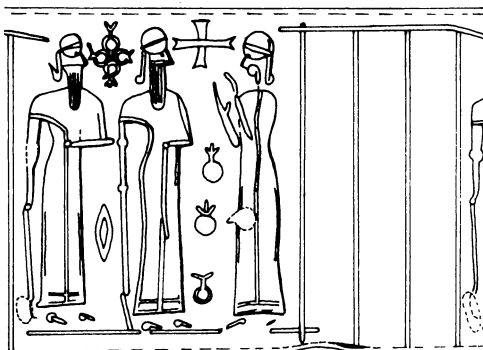
89. Birmingham 56



90. BM 138139



91. Nuzi 686



93. BM 89258



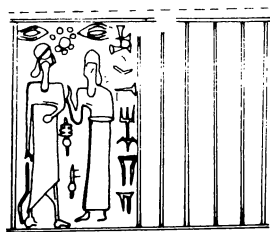
92. Nuzi 687



94. Philadelphia 542



95. Nuzi 688



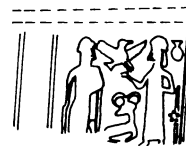
96. Ash 560



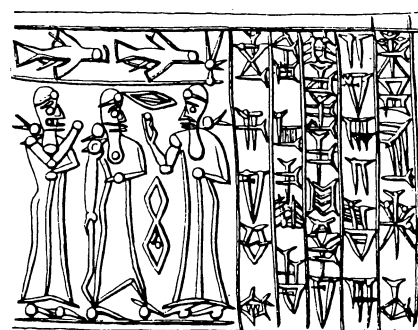
97. CANES 574



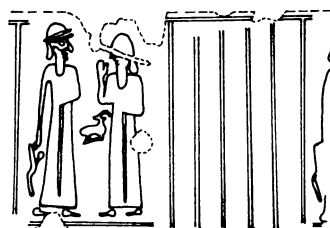
98. Nuzi 689



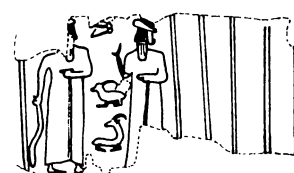
99. Nuzi 700



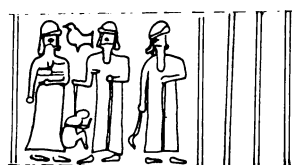
100. Ward 531



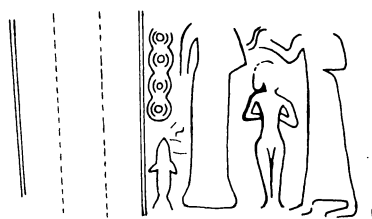
101. Ash. supp. 37



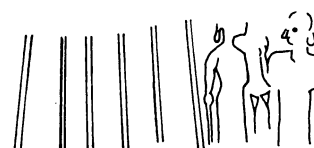
102. CANES 573



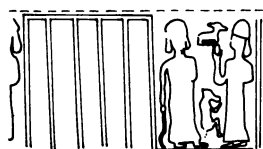
103. CANES 585



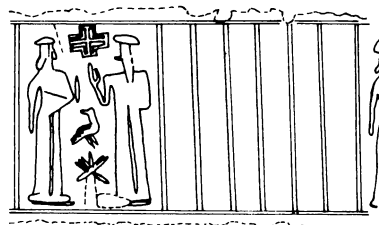
104. HSS XIV 293



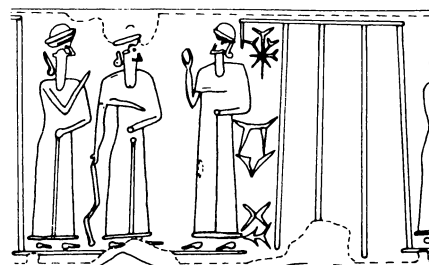
105. Nuzi 691



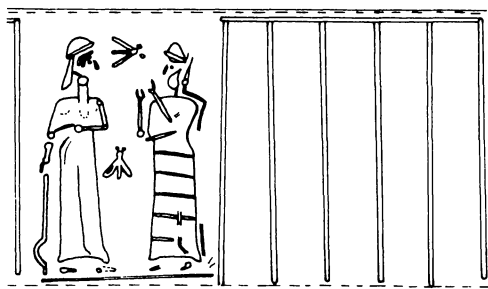
106. Nuzi 699



107. Scheil 1916, no. 27



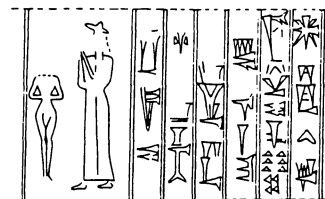
108. BM 89215



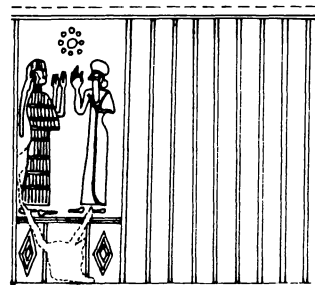
109. BM 89252



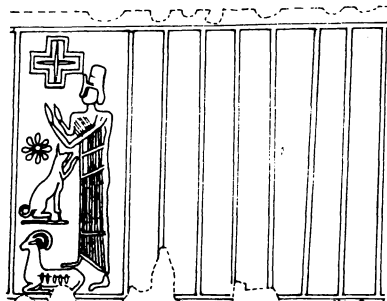
110. BN 300



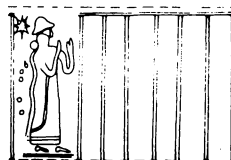
111. Philadelphia 543



112. BIF 99 (ex-Schmidt 266)



113. Lambert 1970, fig. 1 (Woodbrooke)



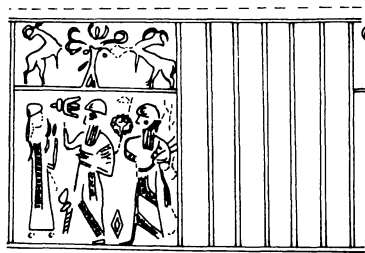
114. Ash 558



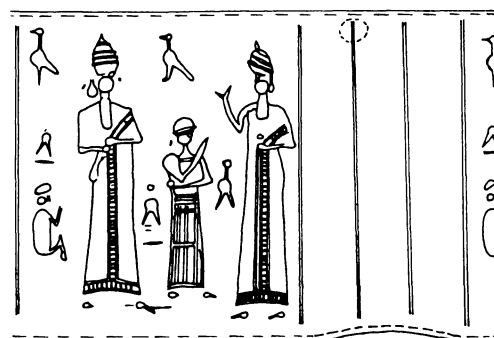
115. Gulbenkian 58



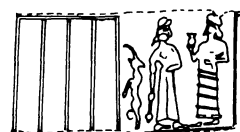
116. Nuzi 684



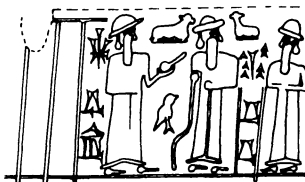
117. VR 552



118. BM 89175



119. BN 293



120. Copenhagen 77



121. Gulbenkian 61



122. Louvre D56



123. Nuzi 683



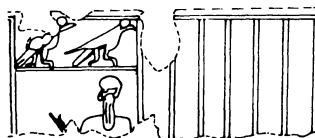
124. Collon 1987, no. 571 (Uluburun)



125. Copenhagen 85



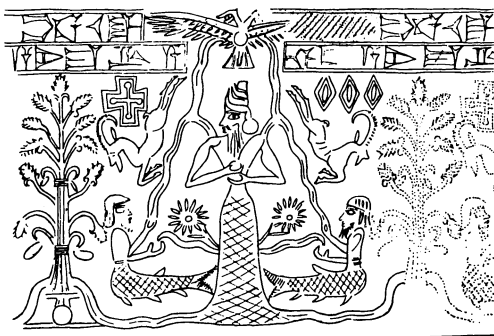
126. Ward 536



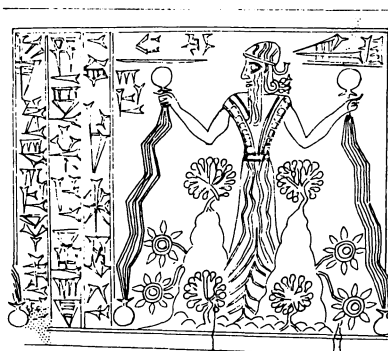
127. de Clercq 256



128. Nippur I pl. 119:16,18



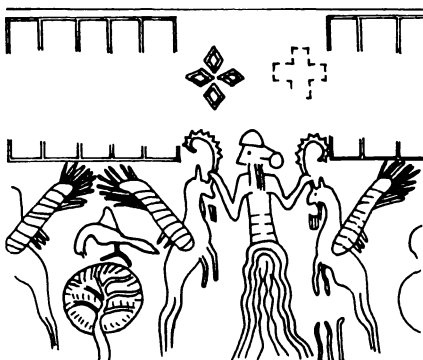
129. Thebes 27



130. Thebes 26



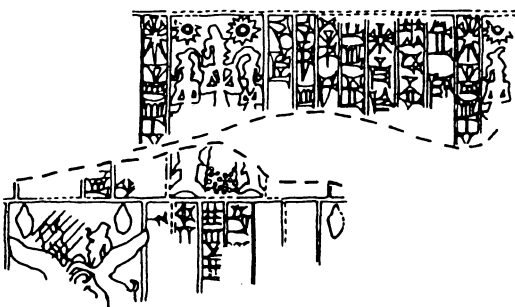
131. Herzfeld Festschrift 5



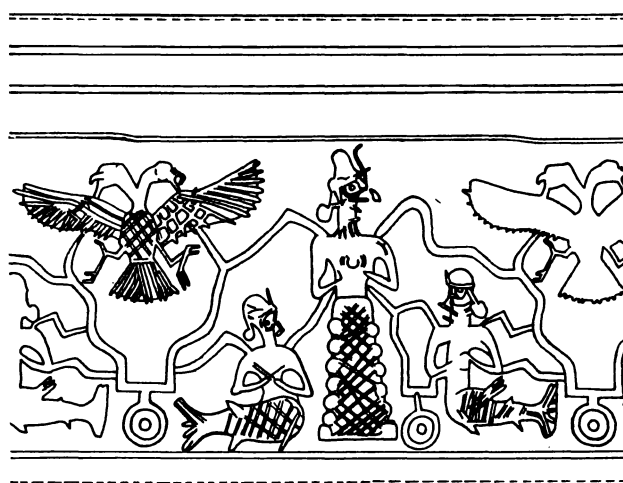
132. Subeidi 2



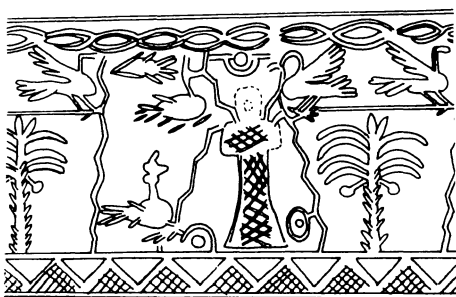
133. IM 22450



134. UET VII 9



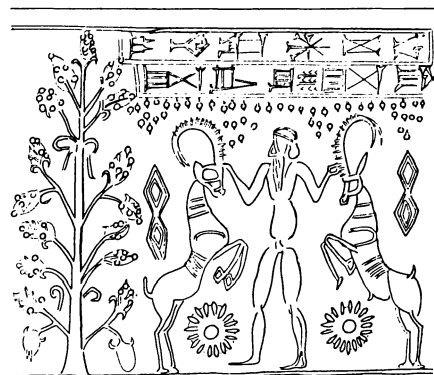
135. Ash 562



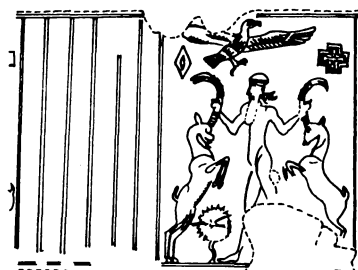
136. Beran 1957-8, fig. 21



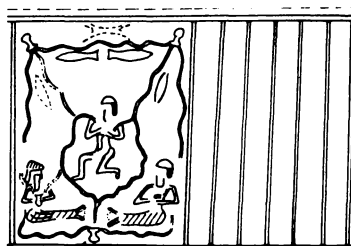
137. Thebes 28



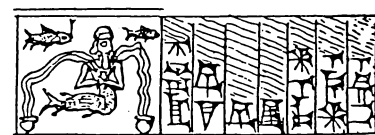
138. Thebes 31



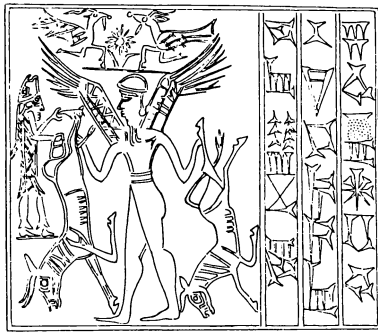
139. BN 301



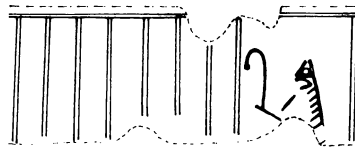
140. CANES 586



141. Philadelphia 539



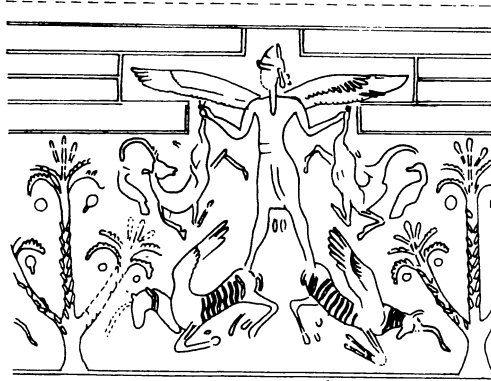
142. Thebes 30



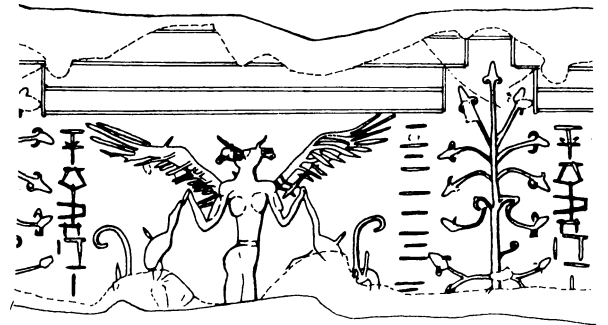
143. CANES 581



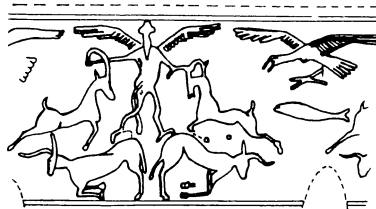
144. LBAF 428



145. Geneva 56



146. BM 22433



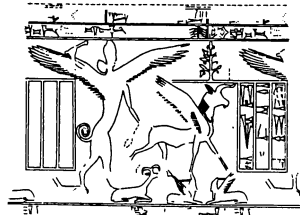
147. UEX 607



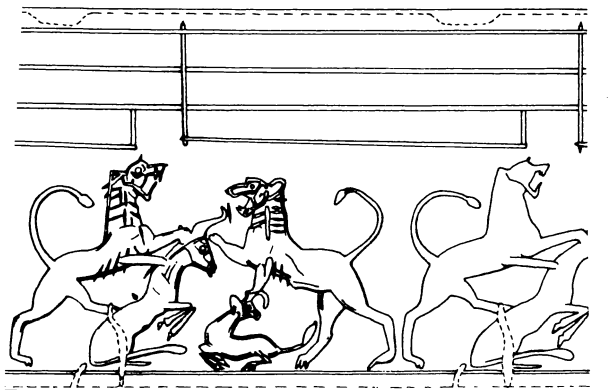
148. CANES 593



149. 12 Glyptik 33



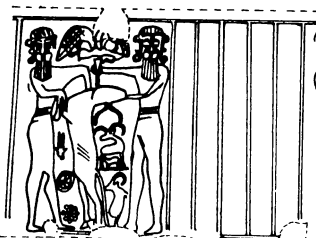
150. BE XIV pl.14:43



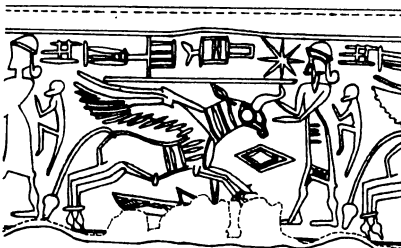
153. BM 120949



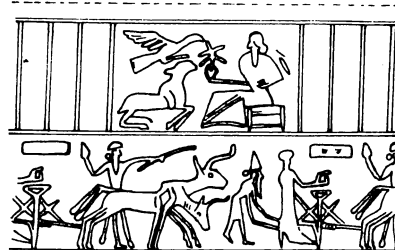
151. Louvre A620



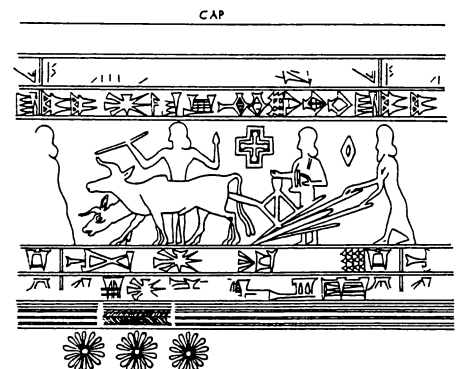
152. Subeidi 19



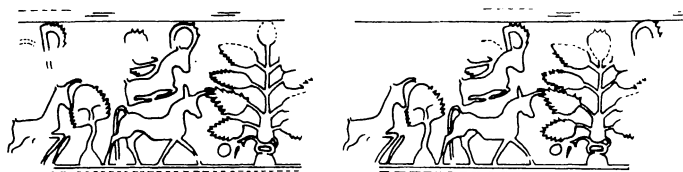
154. Ash. supp. 39



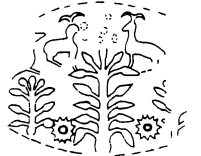
155. IM 21089



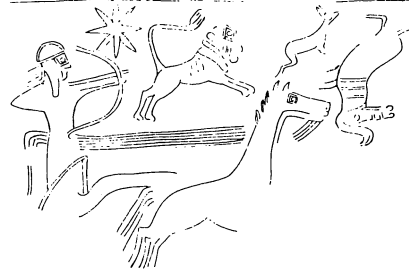
156. Philadelphia 569



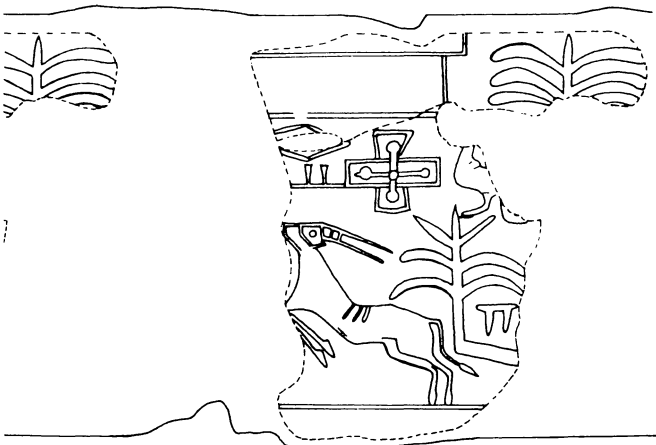
157. IM 51927 (Aqar Quf)



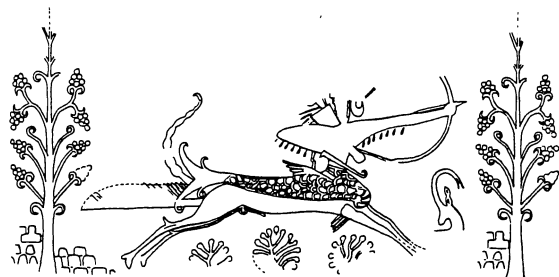
158. Philadelphia 744



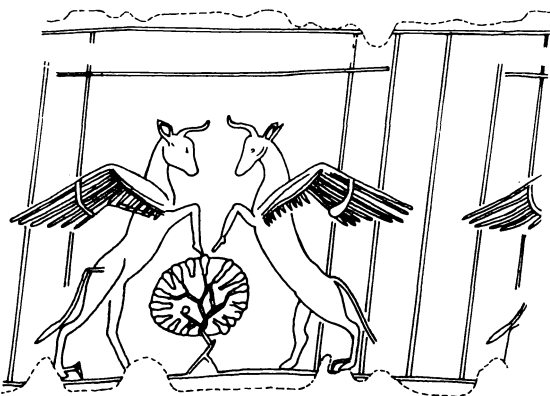
159. Thebes 37



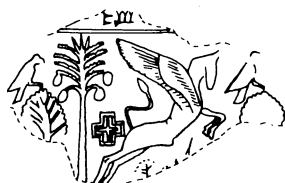
160. UEX 577



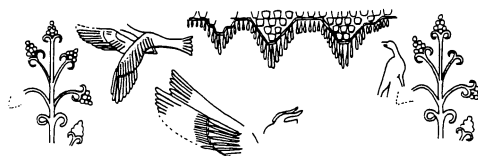
161. Herzfeld Festschrift 2



164. Ladders 77



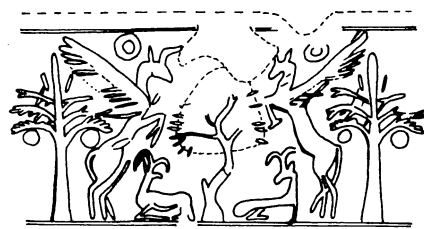
162. Beran 1957-8, fig. 12



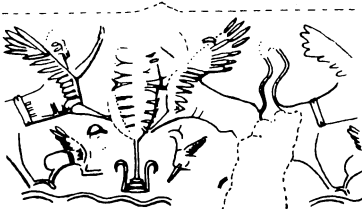
163. Herzfeld Festschrift 3



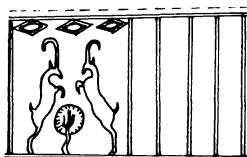
165. UET VII 69



166. VR 559



167. Hama fig. 190A



168. CANES 587



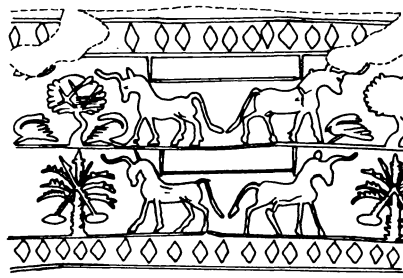
169. Gibson 1983, fig. 20



171. Southesk Qc 10



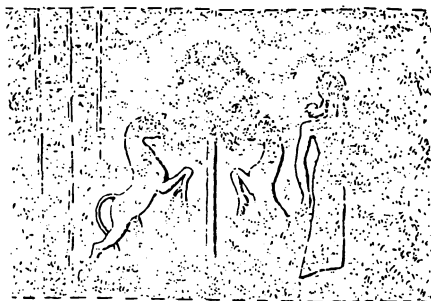
172. Louvre A695



170. Geneva 66



173. Copenhagen 109



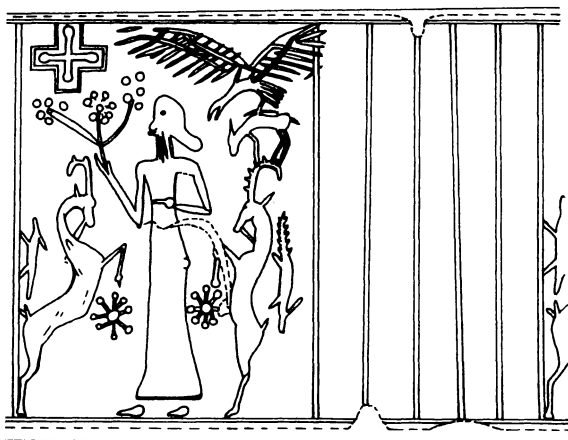
174. 12 Glyptik 3



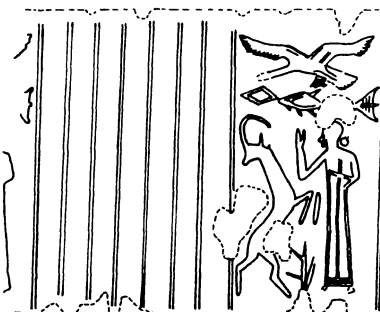
175. Gibson 1983, fig. 21



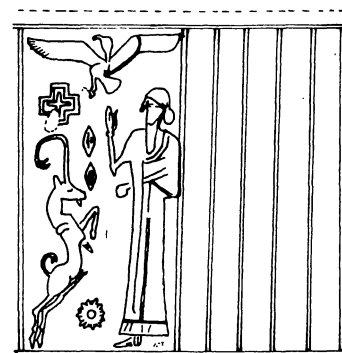
176. BM 89091



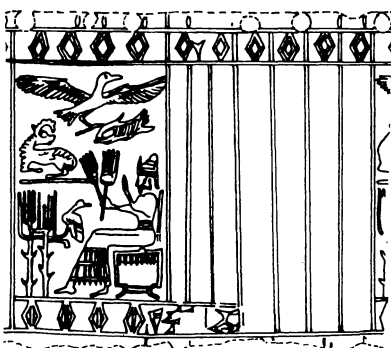
177. BM 89214



178. Layard 1 - 3



179. IM 13839



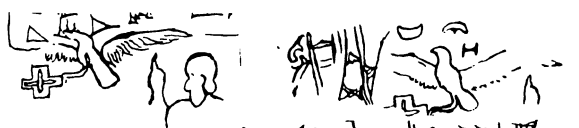
180. Geneva 55



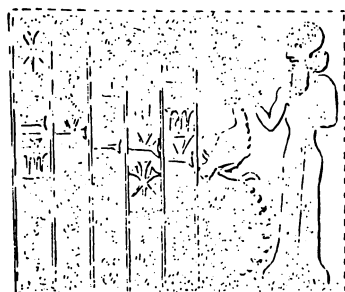
181. Amiet 1980a, AO 21.381



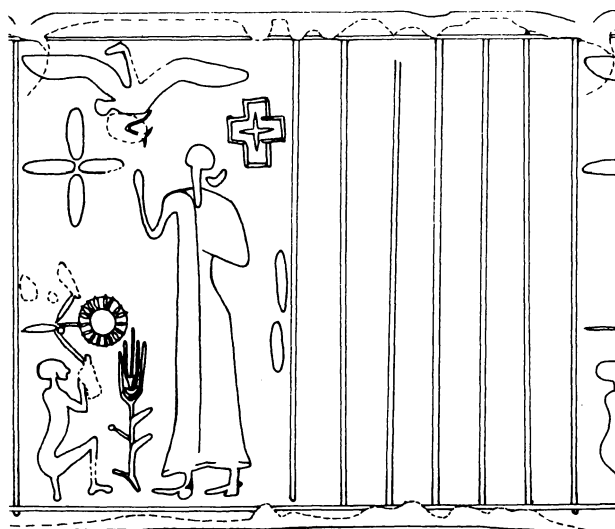
182. 12 Glyptik 1



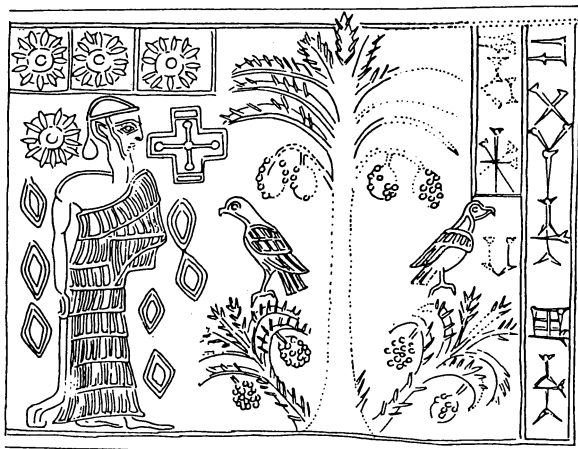
183. Peiser P117



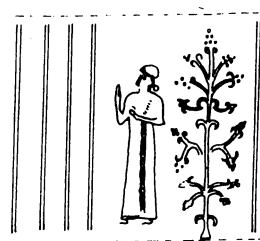
184. 12 Glyptik 2



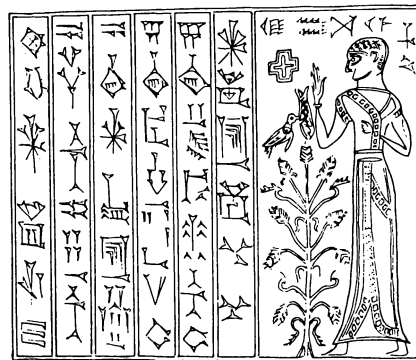
185. BM 102505



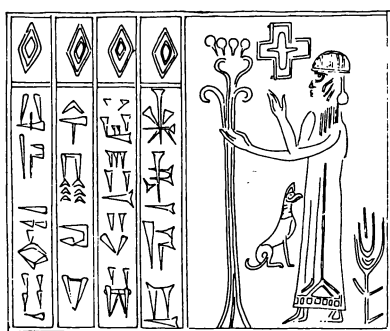
186. Thebes 29



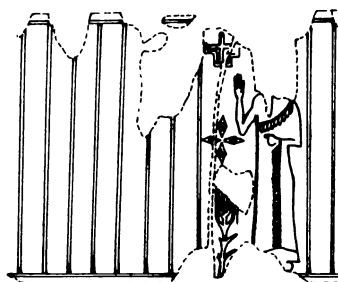
187. Pierson 37



188. Thebes 32



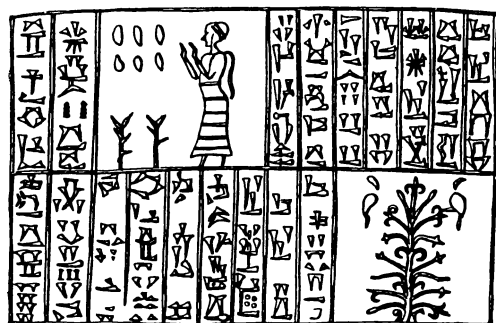
189. Thebes 33



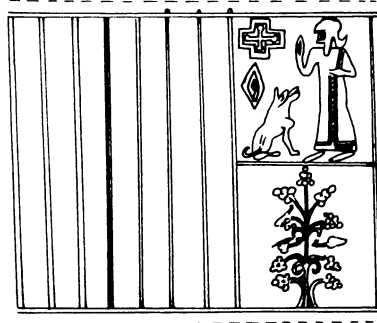
190. BM 122553



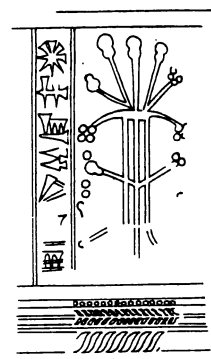
191. UEX 578



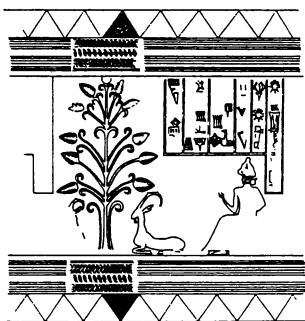
192. BN 299



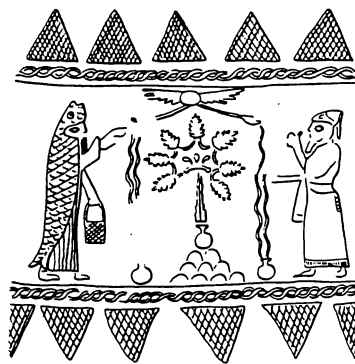
193. VR 556



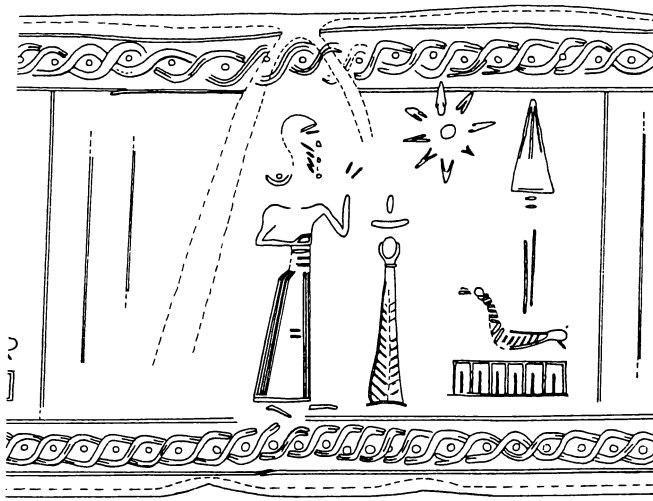
194. Petschow 1974, pl.II no.25



195. Beran 1957-8, fig. 11



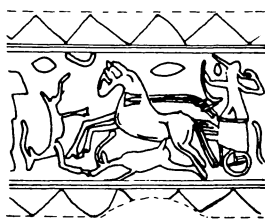
196. Newell 416



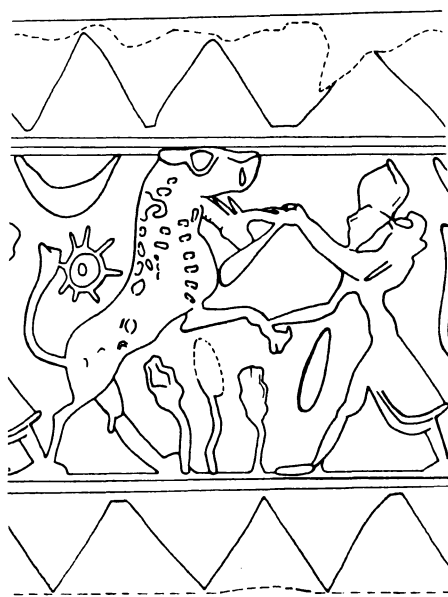
197. BM 89361



198. Philadelphia 599



199. VR 563



202. BM 132829



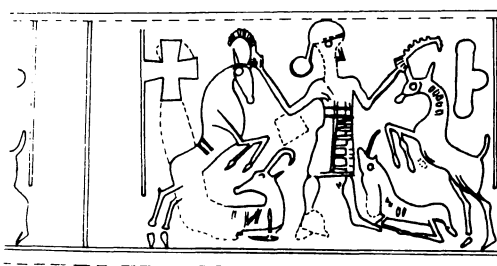
200. Brussels 417



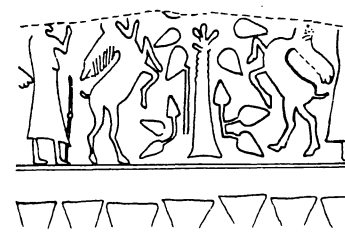
201. UEX 615



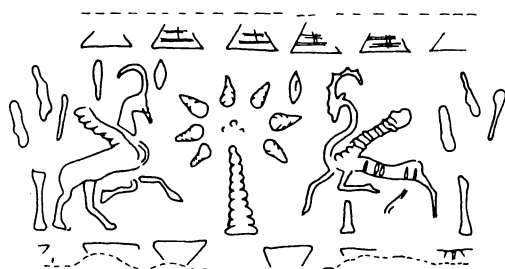
203. IM 19053



204. BM 86268



205. Brussels 703



206. Pierson 38



207. BIF 102 (ex-Schmidt 90)



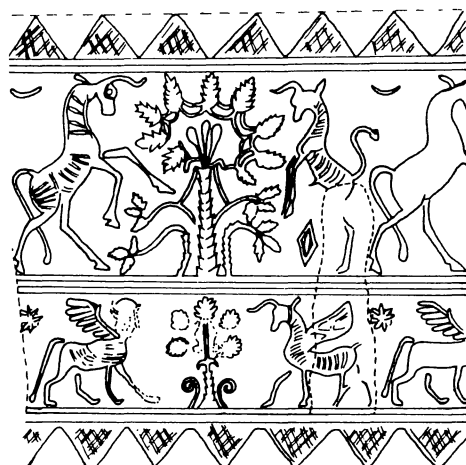
208. VR 688



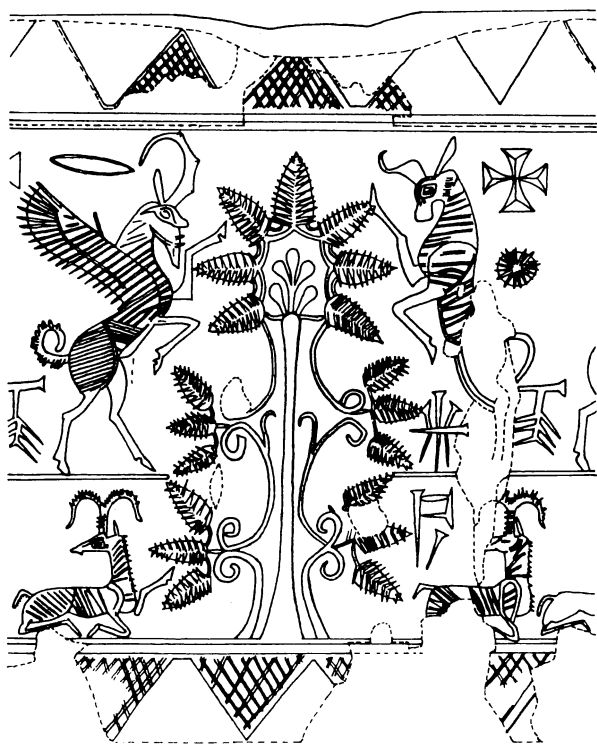
209. Newell 667



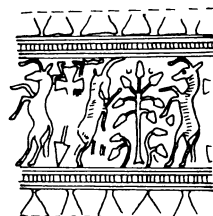
210. CANES 591



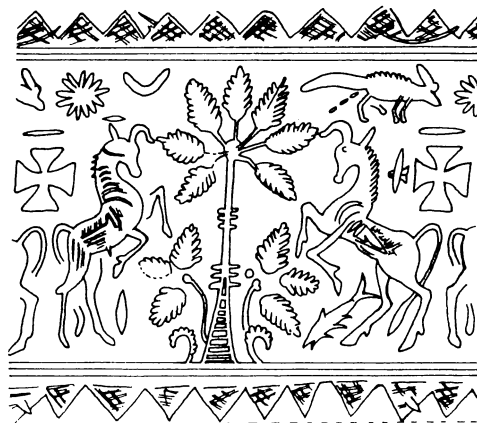
211. VR 560



212. Ash 563



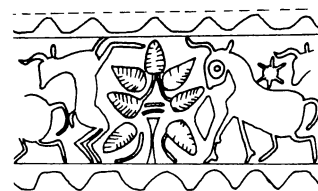
213. Haskell 56



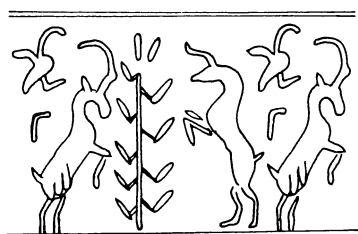
214. Geneva 58



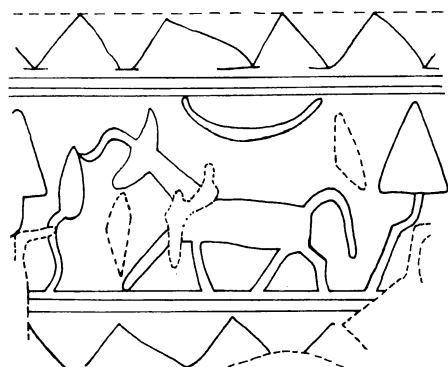
215. Moore 72



216. Louvre A692



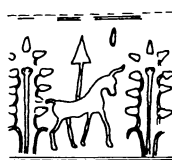
217. BM 136866



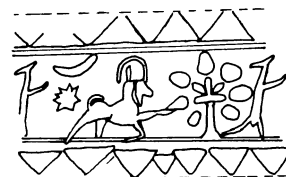
219. UEX 592



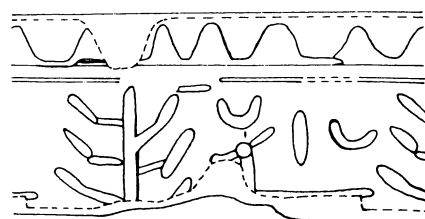
218. BM 119197



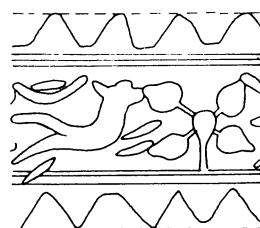
220. Haskell 55



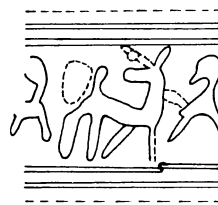
221. VR 561



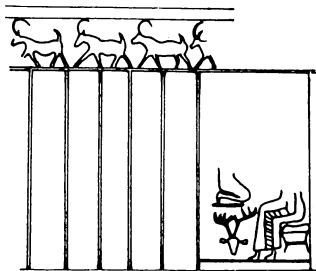
222. BM 89455



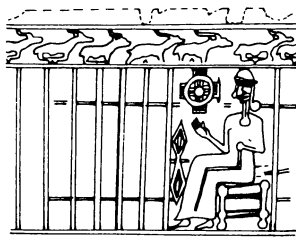
223. UEX 585



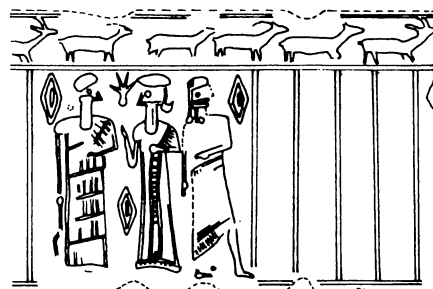
224. UEX 586



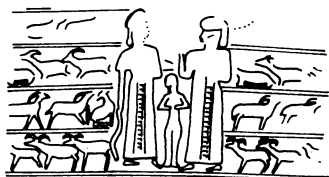
225. Subeidi 18



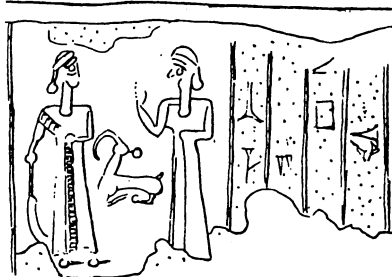
226. Brett 83



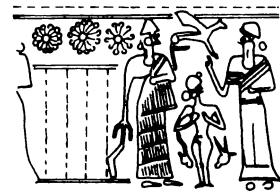
227. Louvre A603



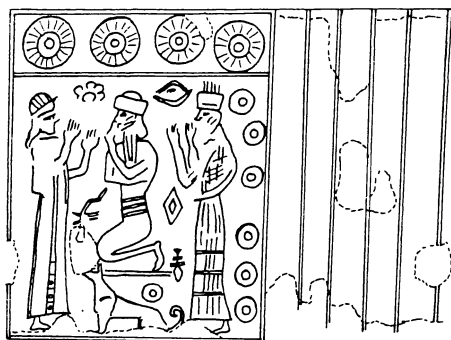
228. Nuzi 704



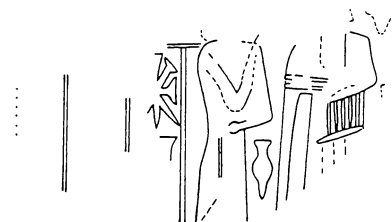
229. Choga Zanbil 2



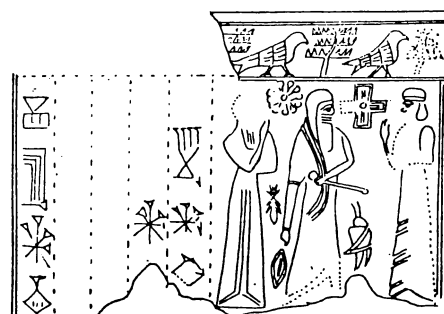
230. Louvre A604



231. Nougayrol 1971, fig. 1



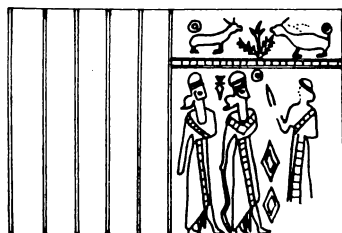
232. Philadelphia 555



233. Choga Zanbil 1



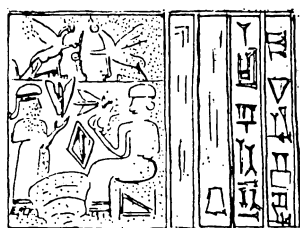
234. Philadelphia 562



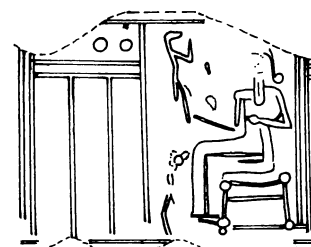
235. Subeidi 6



236. Susa 2074



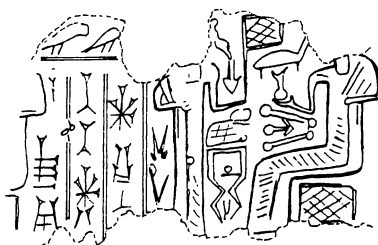
237. Choga Zanbil 11



238. Louvre A605



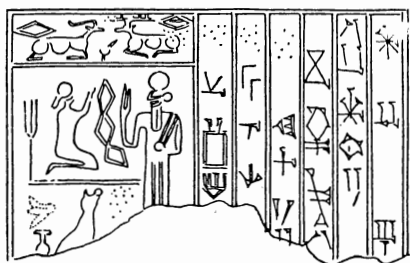
239. VR 555



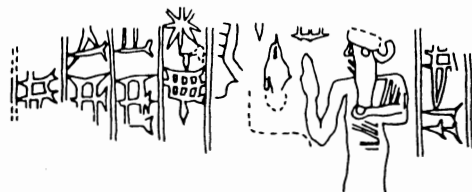
240. IM 10993



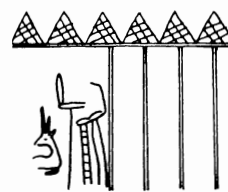
241. BM 119322



242. Choga Zanbil 8



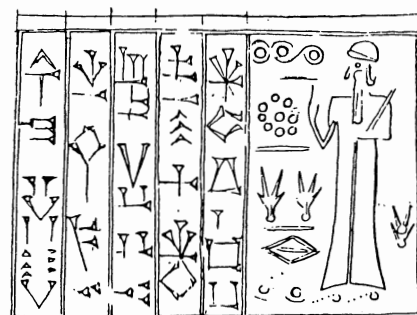
243. UET VII 1



244. Subeidi 1



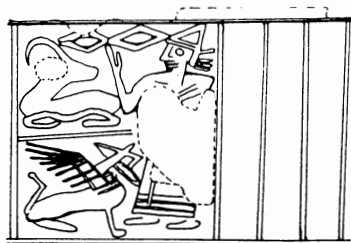
245. Nemrik (with conjectural restoration)



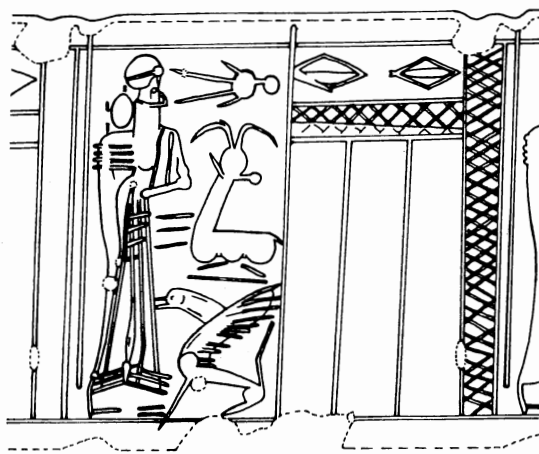
246. Choga Zanbil 7



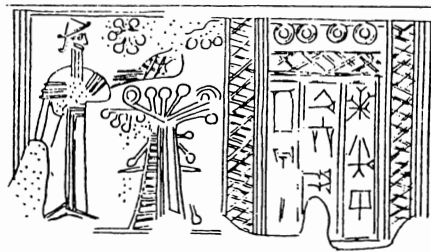
247. Iraq 39 - 12 (Rimah)



248. CANES 584



249. BM 134928



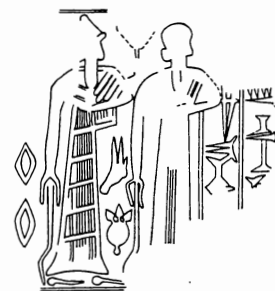
250. Choga Zanbil 15



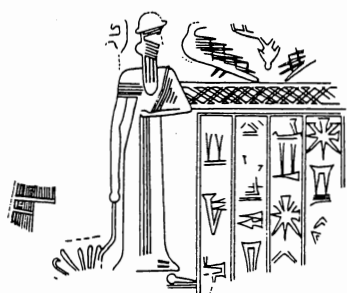
251. Nippur I pl.121:7



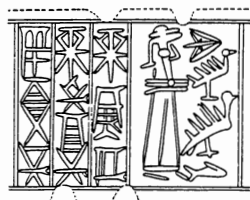
254. Susa 2072



255. Philadelphia 549



252. Philadelphia 548



253. Philadelphia 568



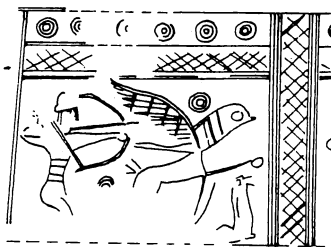
256. Nippur I pl.121:2



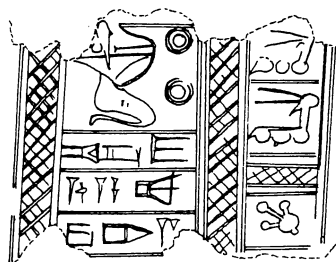
257. Philadelphia 561



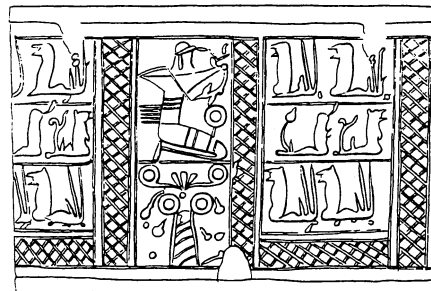
258. UEX 579



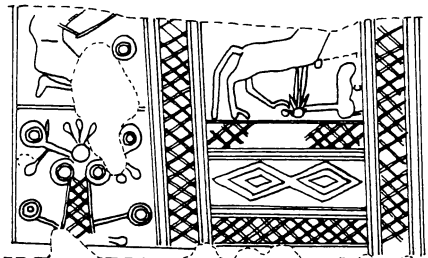
259. Susa 2082



260. IM 10992



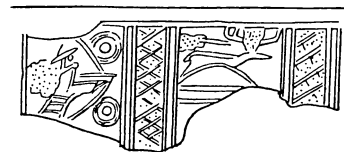
261. Marlik 6



262. Moortgat-Correns 1969



263. Choga Zanbil 20



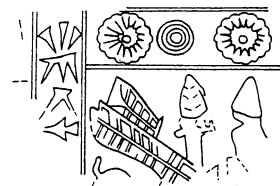
264. Choga Zanbil 19



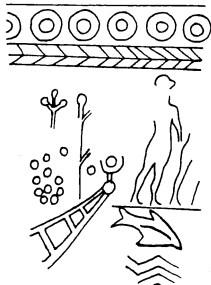
265. Susa 2083



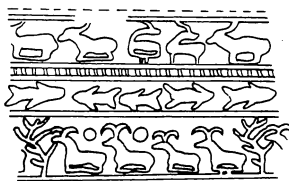
266. Choga Zanbil 13



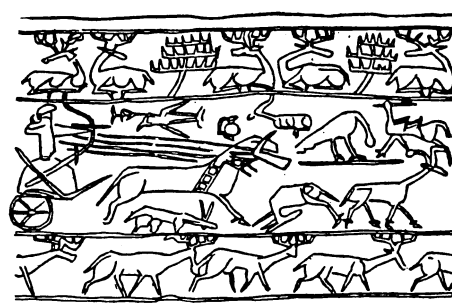
267. Philadelphia 560



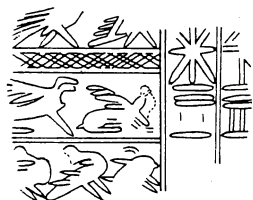
268. Failaka 404



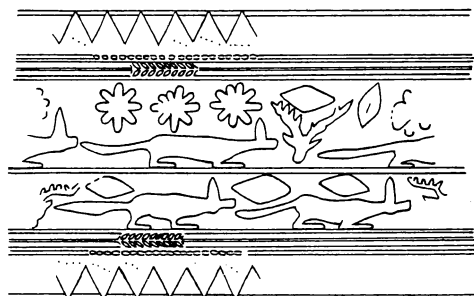
269. Susa 2054



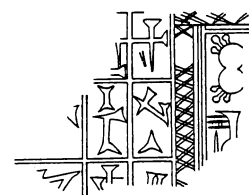
270. VR 562



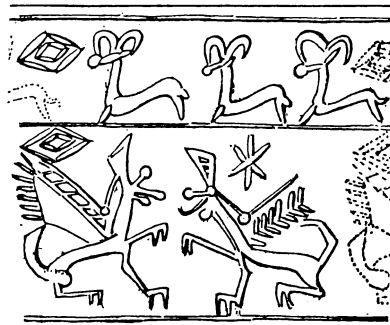
271. Nippur I pl.121:5



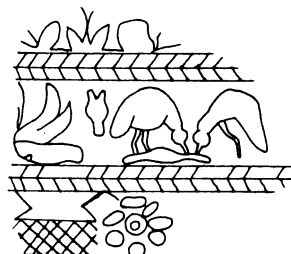
272. Gibson 1975, fig. 10 (Nippur)



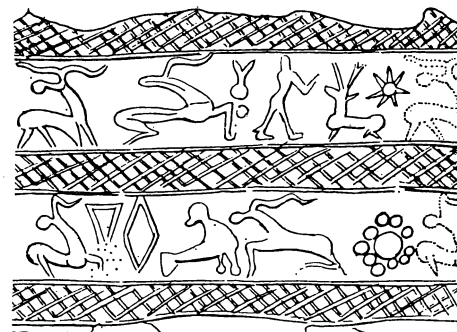
273. Philadelphia 558



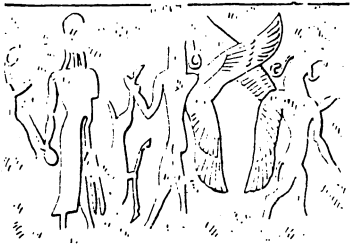
274. Choga Zanbil 88



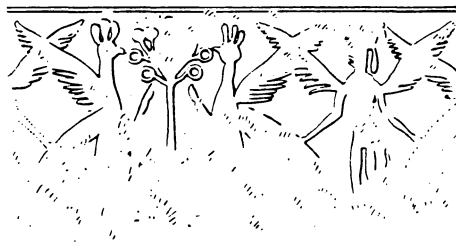
275. Subeidi 22



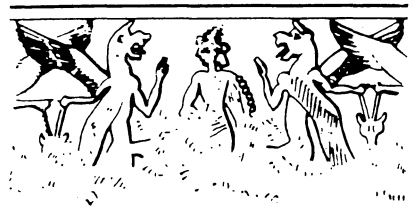
276. Choga Zanbil 92



277. 13 Glyptik 79



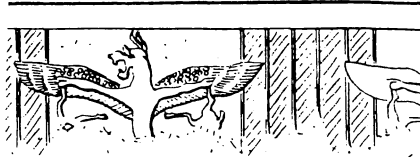
278. 14 Glyptik 9



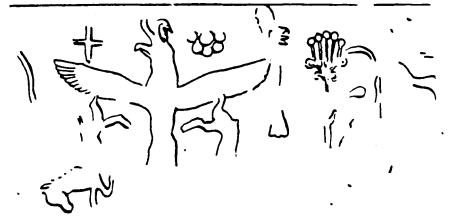
279. 14 Glyptik 11



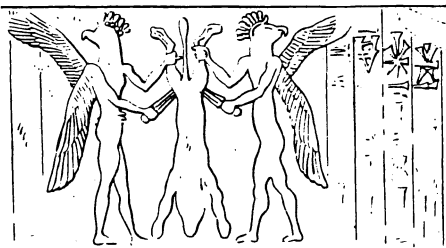
280. 14 Glyptik 18



281. 14 Glyptik 19



282. 14 Glyptik 67a



283. 14 Glyptik 17 (Assuruballit)



284. 14 Glyptik 8



285. Collon 1987, no. 570 (Uluburun)



286. 14 Glyptik 25



287. BM 134855



288. 14 Glyptik 23



289. CANES 594



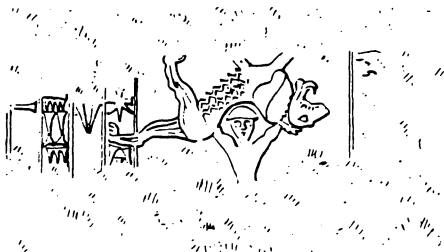
290. Boston 25 - 67



291. Wien - Graz 86



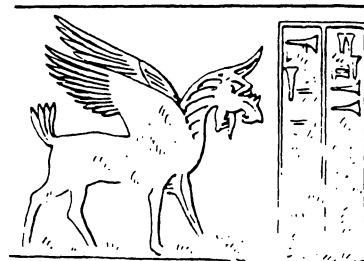
292. CANES 592



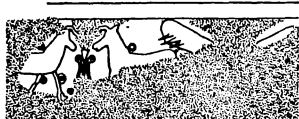
293. 14 Glyptik 20



294. 14 Glyptik 36



295. 14 Glyptik 35



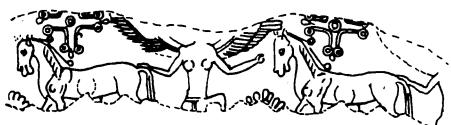
296. Iraq 39 - 15A



297. 14 Glyptik 7



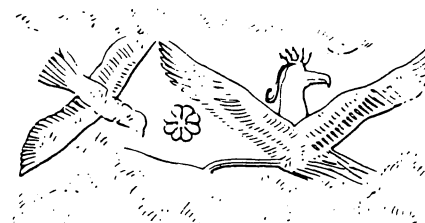
298. 14 Glyptik 29



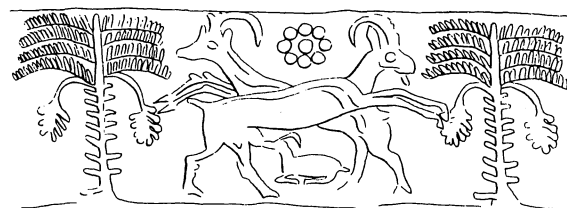
299. Iraq 37 - 48 (Rimah)



300. CANES 595



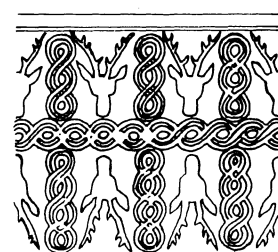
301. 14 Glyptik 39



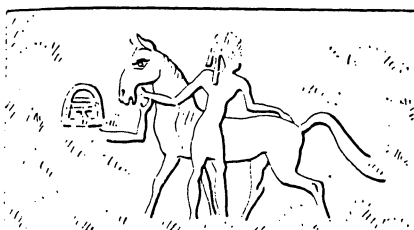
302. VR 587



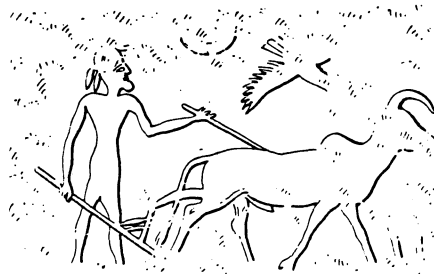
303. Newell 450



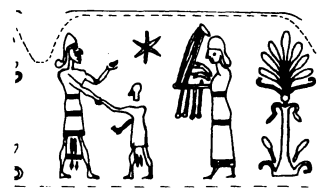
304. VR D3



305. 13 Glyptik 65



306. 13 Glyptik 66



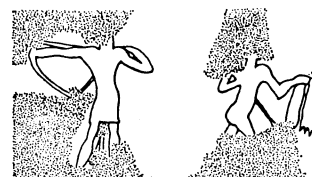
307. BM 89359



308. BN 367



309. de Clercq 369



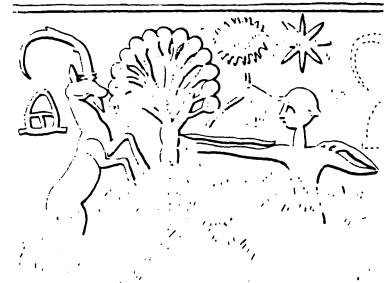
310. Iraq 39 - 2B



311. de Clercq 311



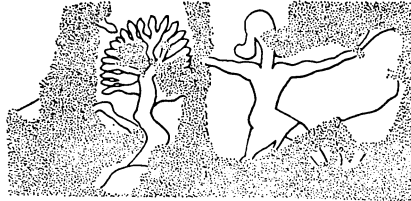
312. Louvre A795



313. 13 Glyptik 17



314. 13 Glyptik 16



315. Iraq 39 - 3



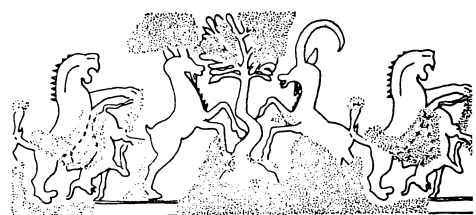
316. Iraq 39 - 30



317. 13 Glyptik 32



318. Oppenländer 105



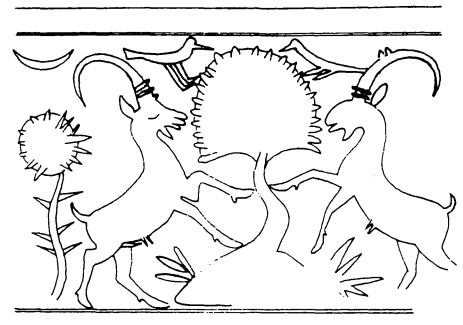
319. Iraq 39 - 45



320. Southesk Qc 11



321. 13 Glyptik 47-48



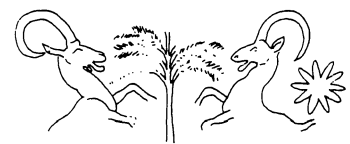
322. Mohammed Arab 7



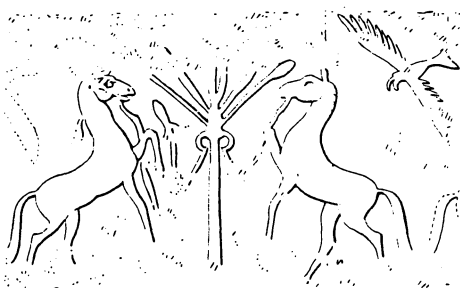
323. Iraq 39 - 31



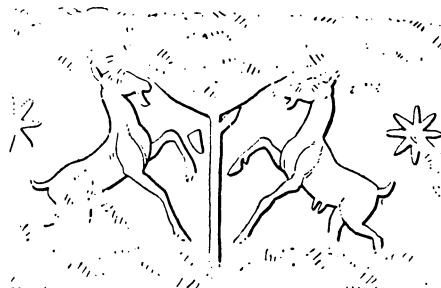
324. Iraq 39 - 32A



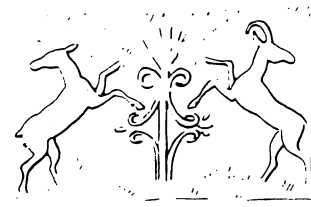
325. 13 Glyptik 49



326. 13 Glyptik 51



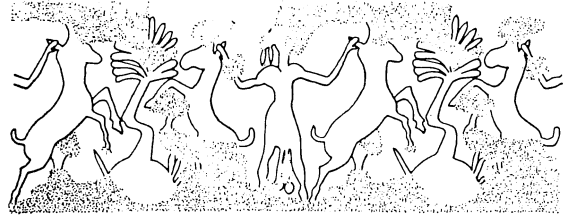
327. 13 Glyptik 50



328. 14 Glyptik 30



329. CANES 597



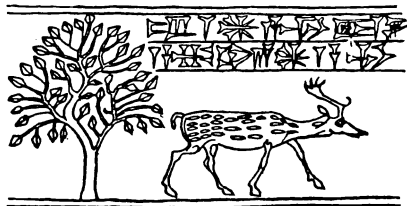
330. Iraq 39 - 2A



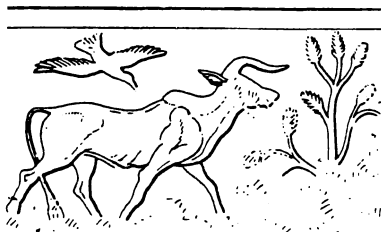
331. Moortgat Festschrift 9



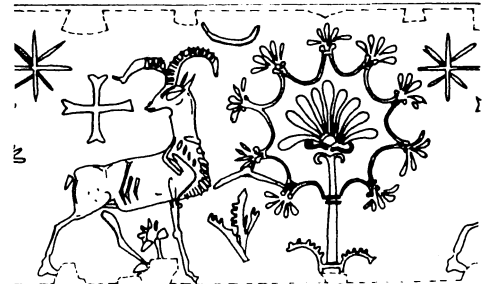
332. CANES 600



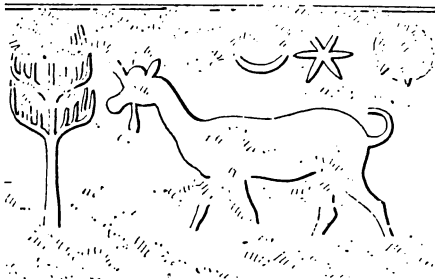
333. BN 307



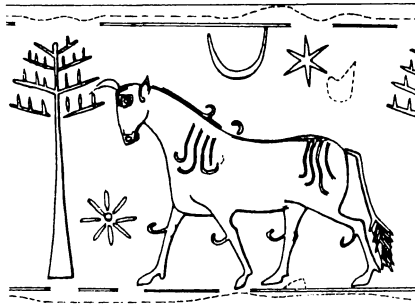
334. 13 Glyptik 43



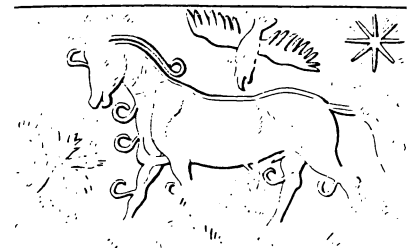
335. BM 102535



336. 13 Glyptik 39



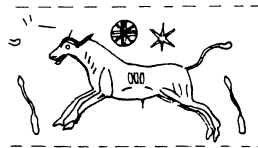
337. Southesk Qa 28



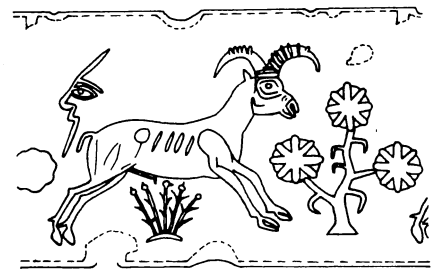
338. 13 Glyptik 38



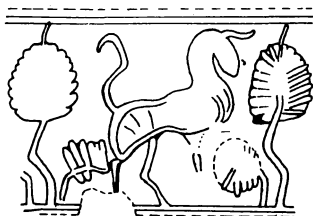
339. Ash. supp. 38



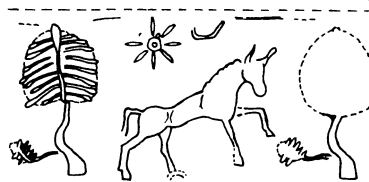
340. Marcopoli 142



341. Ash 569



342. Hama fig. 190B



343. VR 588



344. UEX 589



345. CANES 596



346. CANES 599



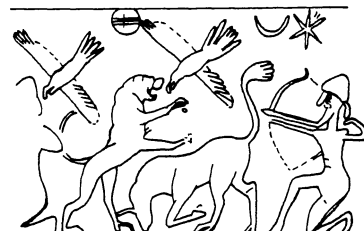
347. Iraq 39 - 35



348. Kühne 1984, fig. 18 (Sheikh Hamad)



349. BM 89862



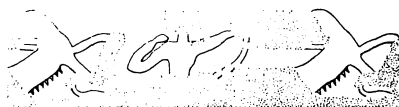
350. Marlik 7



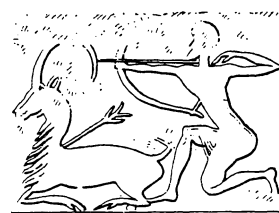
351. 13 Glyptik 15



352. Fakhariyah III



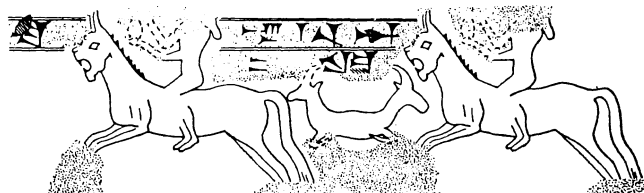
353. Iraq 39 - 43



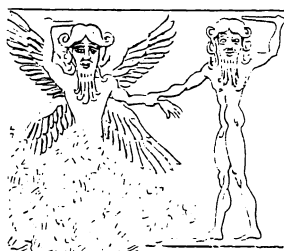
354. 13 Glyptik 14



355. de Clercq 363



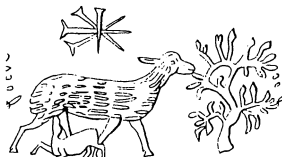
356. Iraq 39 - 23



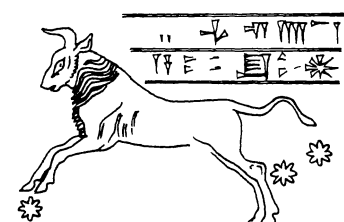
357. 13 Glyptik 21



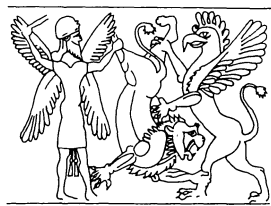
358. 13 Glyptik 31



359. VR 586



360. 13 Glyptik 68



361. Damascus 52



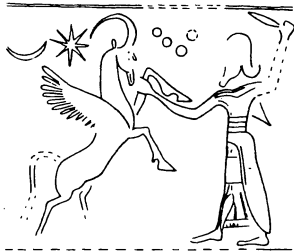
362. Iraq 39 - 7



363. Fakhariyah X



364. CANES 607



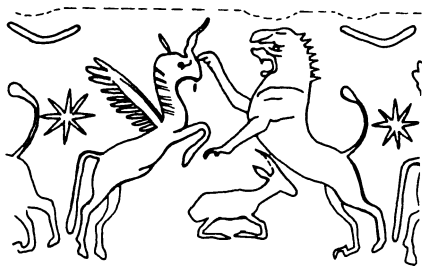
367. Fakhariyah IV



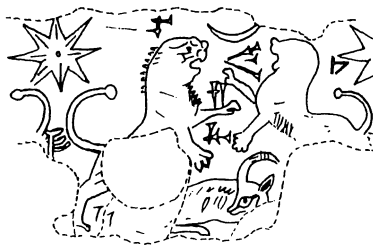
370. Fakhariyah XI



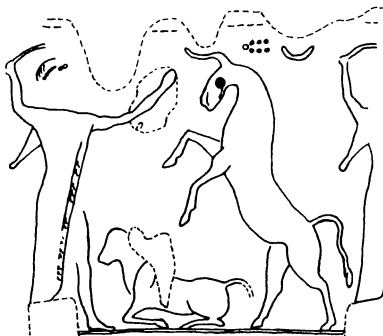
374. Amiet 1973, no. 471



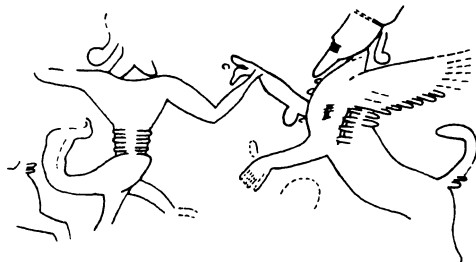
377. Ash. supp. 41



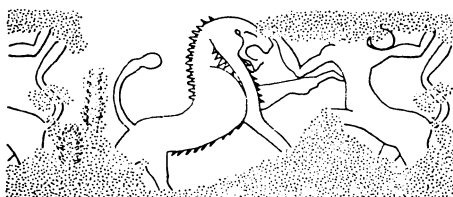
380. CANES 605



365. Wien - Graz 91



368. BM 123367



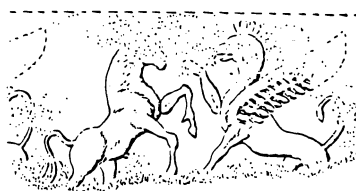
371. Iraq 39 - 28



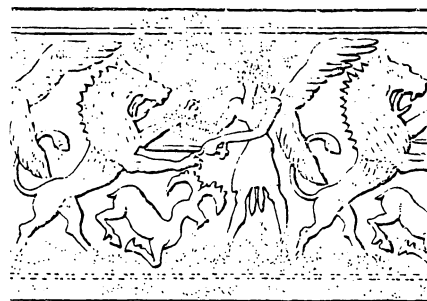
375. 13 Glyptik 22



378. Louvre D54



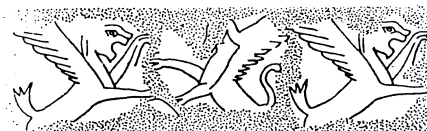
381. 12 Glyptik 16



366. 12 Glyptik 10



369. CANES 608



372. Iraq 39 - 21



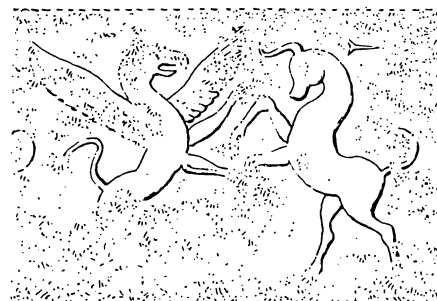
373. 12 Glyptik 18



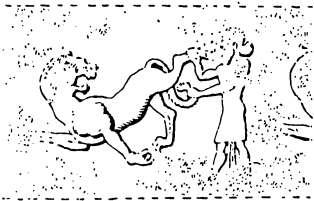
376. UEX 608



379. 13 Glyptik 26



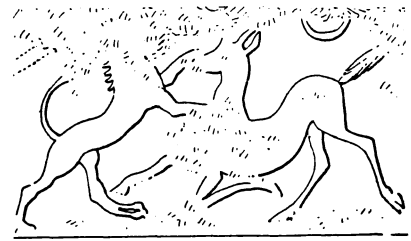
382. 12 Glyptik 17



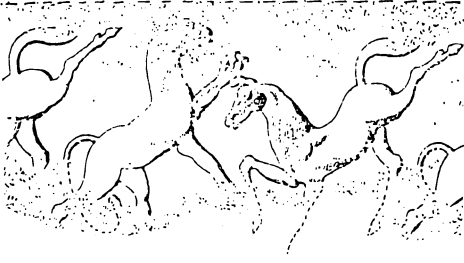
383. 12 Glyptik 4



384. 14 Glyptik 42



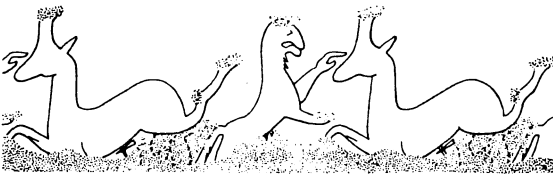
385. 13 Glyptik 37



386. 12 Glyptik 11



388. Ladders 79



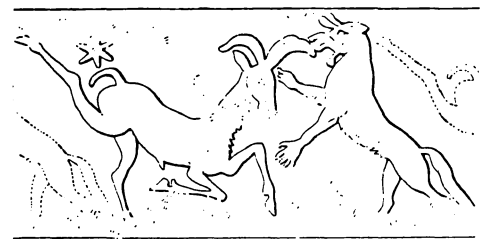
387. Iraq 39 - 29



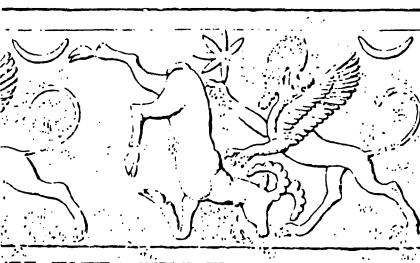
389. 12 Glyptik 12



390. BM 89605



391. 13 Glyptik 27



392. 12 Glyptik 19



393. VR 581



394. 12 Glyptik 40



395. Fakhariyah XII



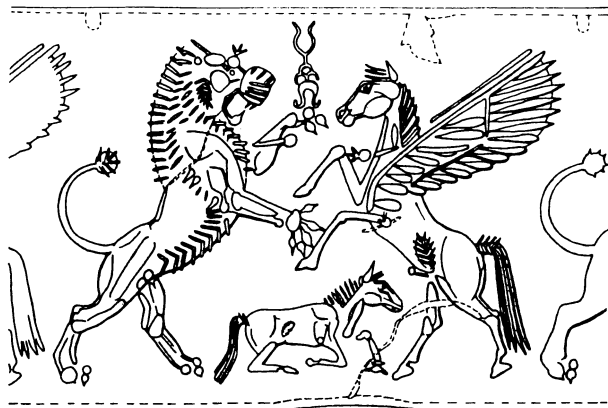
396. CANES 606



397. Fakhariyah XVI



398. Fakhariyah VI



399. Southesk Qc 35



400. Fakhariyah XIV



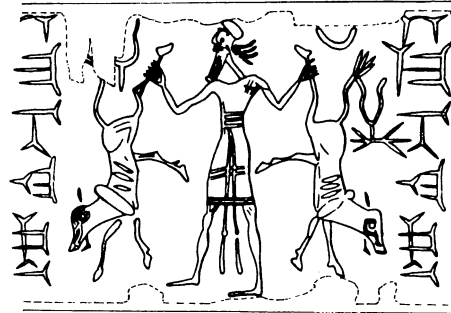
401. Walters 85



402. 13 Glyptik 23



403. Newell 685



404. Southesk Qc 26



405. Moortgat Festschrift 3



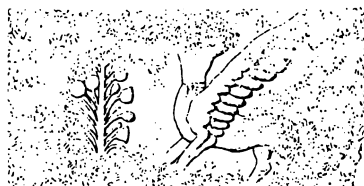
406. Marcopoli 141



407. Iraq 39 - 37



408. Fakhariyah XXIV



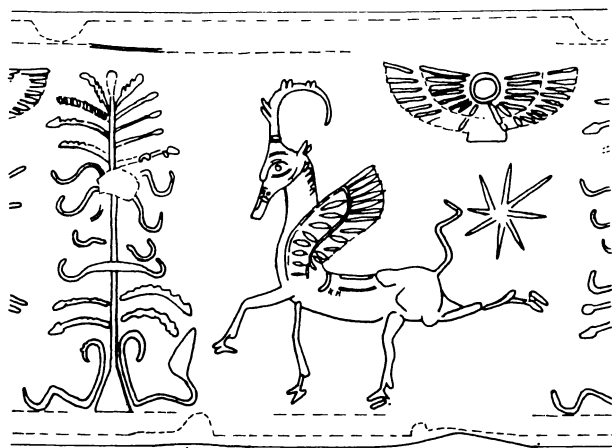
409. 12 Glyptik 42



410. 13 Glyptik 56



411. Damascus 51



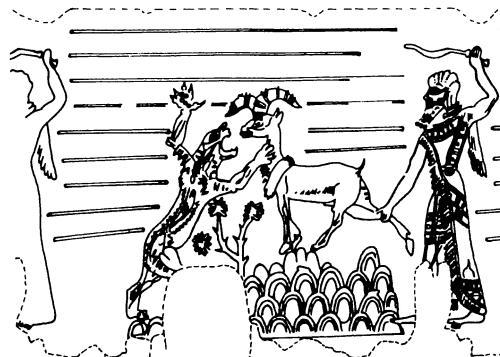
412. BM 89625



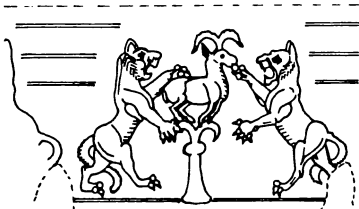
413. 13 Glyptik 5



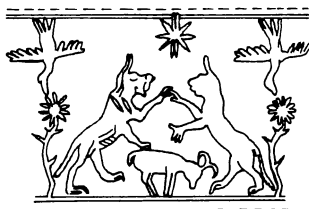
414. de Clercq 342bis



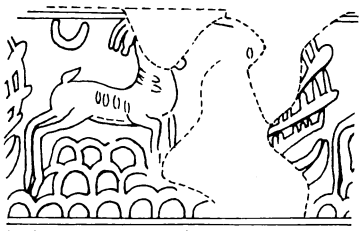
415. Amiet - Dossin 1968



416. Louvre A708



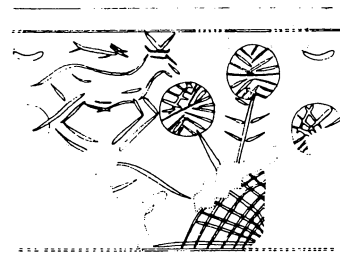
417. Moore 71



418. VR 590



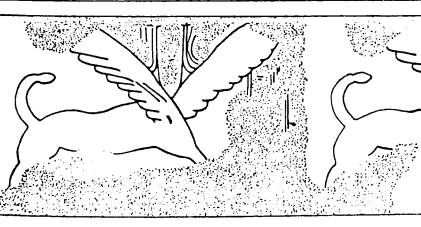
419. 13 Glyptik 6



420. Mohammed Arab 8



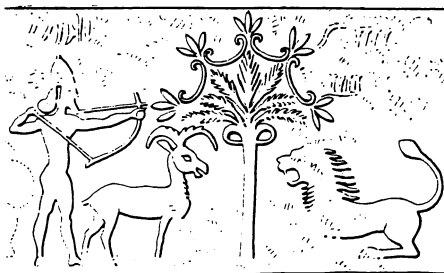
421. 12 Glyptik 39



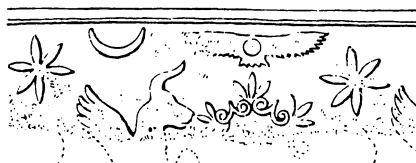
422. Iraq 39 - 6



423. Gulbenkian 65



424. 13 Glyptik 11



425. 12 Glyptik 32



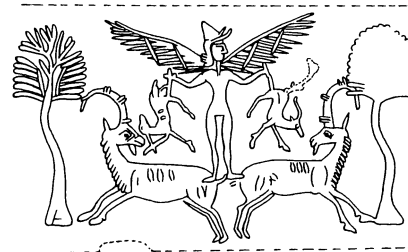
426. Fakhariyah IX



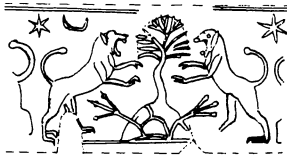
427. 12 Glyptik 34



428. 13 Glyptik 63



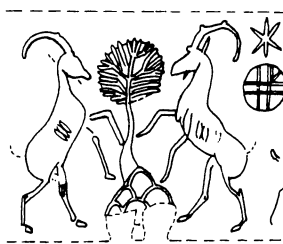
429. Ladders 81



430. Marcopoli 138



431. 13 Glyptik 53



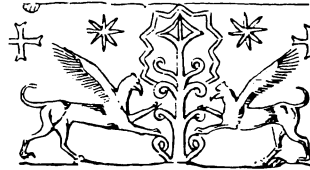
432. Louvre A712



433. Iraq 39 - 27



434. CANES 603



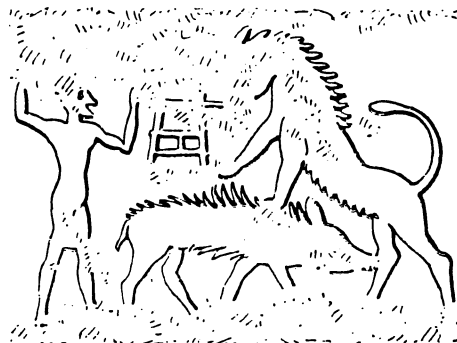
435. BN 385



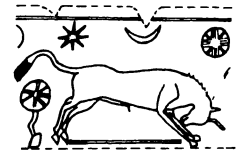
436. VR 630



437. CANES 602



438. 13 Glyptik 3



439. Ash 568



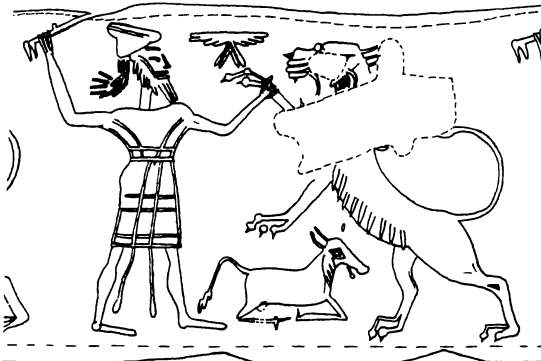
441. CANES 604



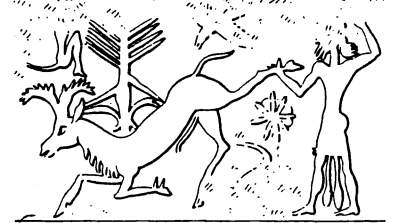
440. Newell 654



442. 12 Glyptik 20



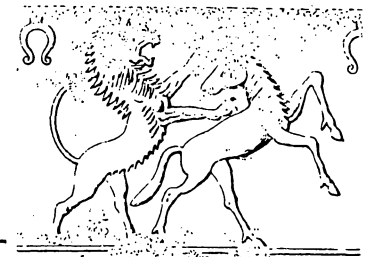
443. BM 89582



444. 13 Glyptik 7



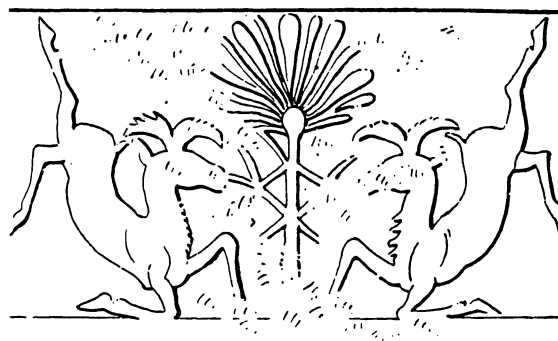
445. CANES 601



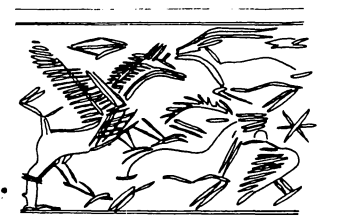
446. 12 Glyptik 13



447. Ash 570



448. 13 Glyptik 54



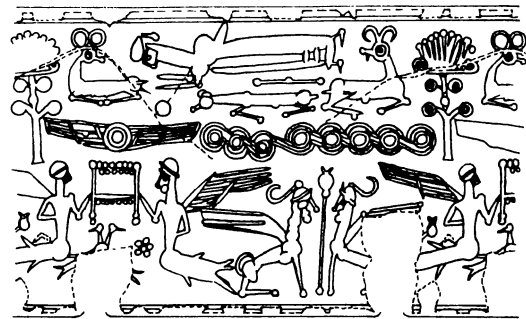
449. VR 582



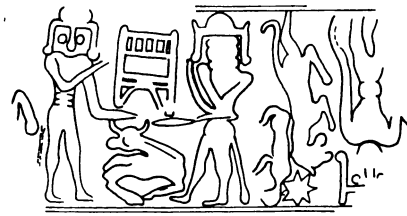
450. BM 89556



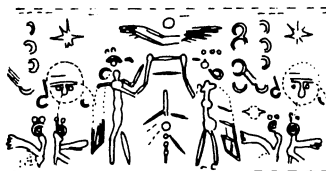
451. Iraq 39 - 14A



452. Ash. supp. 60



453. HSS XIV 286



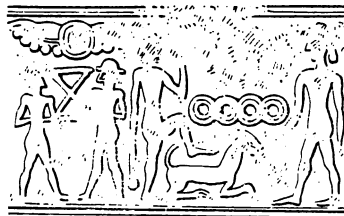
454. VR 578



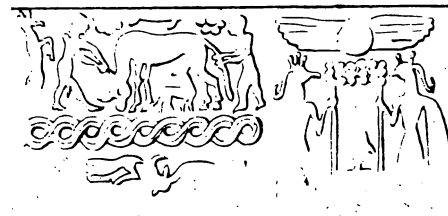
455. Louvre A951



456. Enkomi 2



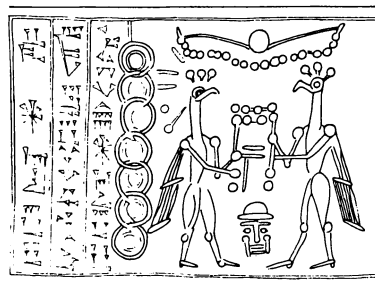
457. 13 Glyptik 77



458. 14 Glyptik 89



459. 14 Glyptik 85



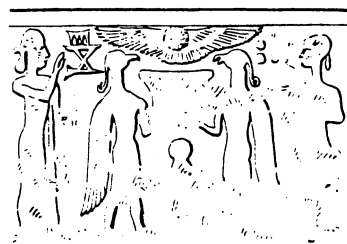
460. Thebes 20



461. 14 Glyptik 93



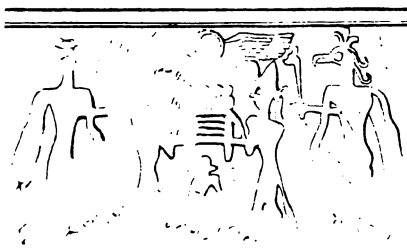
462. BM 102686



463. 14 Glyptik 82



464. 14 Glyptik 4



465. 14 Glyptik 83



466. Weber 258



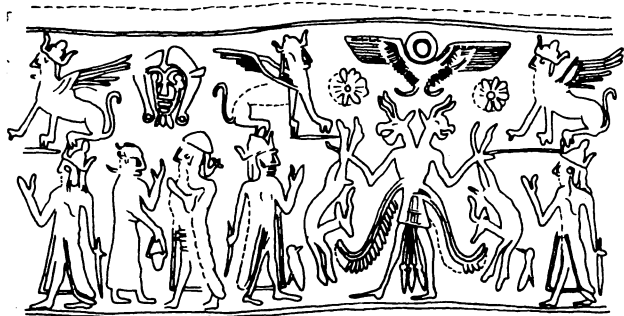
467. de Clercq 357bis



468. HSS XIV 270



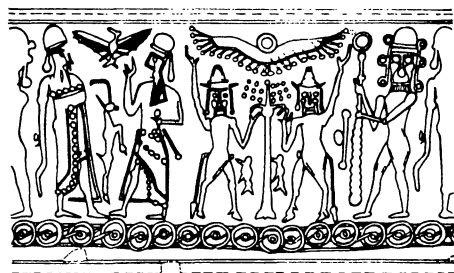
469. HSS XIV 302



470. Ladders 76



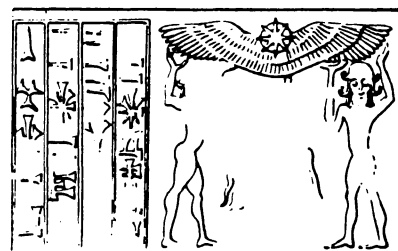
471. Collon 1987, no. 274 (Perati)



472. BM 130671



473. HSS XIV 300



474. 14 Glyptik 22



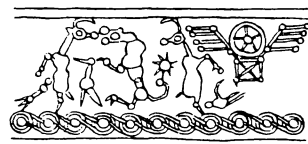
475. Ward 955 (Hermitage)



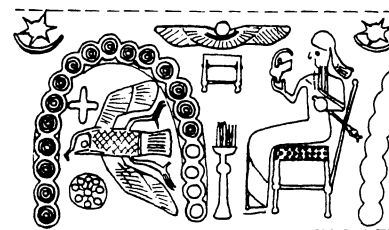
476. 14 Glyptik 2 (Eriba-Adad)



477. 14 Glyptik 94



478. CANES 1047



479. Birmingham 58



480. CANES 598



481. Collon BAR 106



482. Collon BAR 108



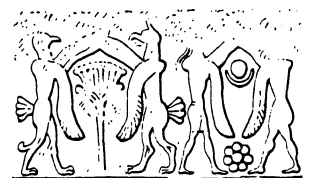
483. Nuzi 92



484. Frankfort 1939, pl.42 o (Tiryns)



485. Nuzi 726



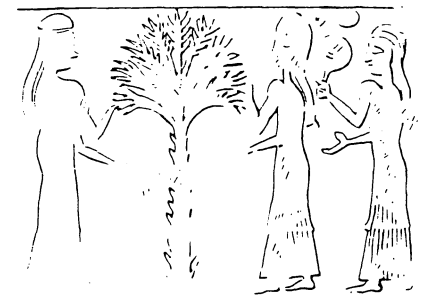
486. 13 Glyptik 80



487. 14 Glyptik 3



488. 14 Glyptik 71



489. 14 Glyptik 32



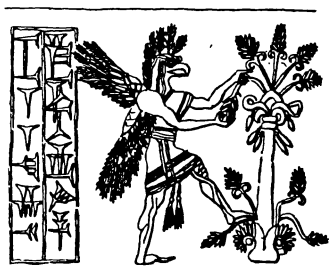
490. Iraq 39 - 32B



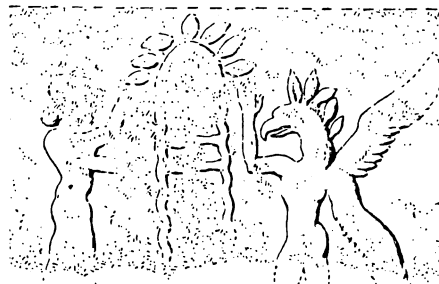
491. Gulbenkian 64



492. 13 Glyptik 55



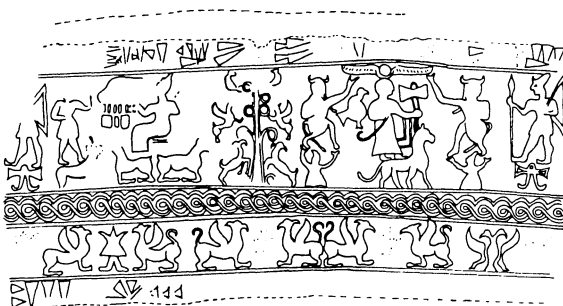
493. CANES 609



494. 12 Glyptik 31



495. Thebes 23



496. Emar 15 (Shahurumuwa)



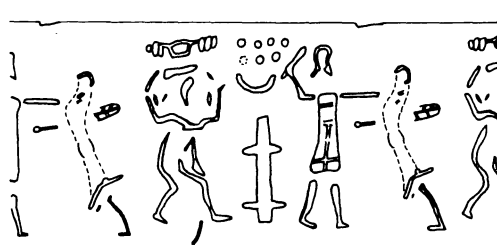
497. CANES 909



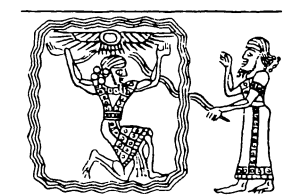
498. BN 364



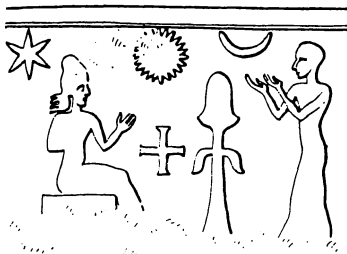
499. VR 638



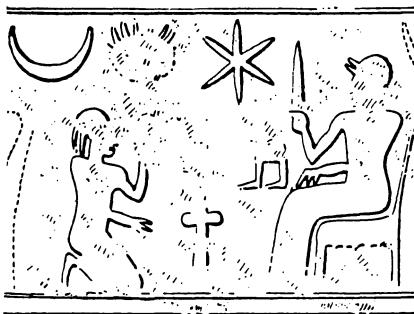
500. BM 89777



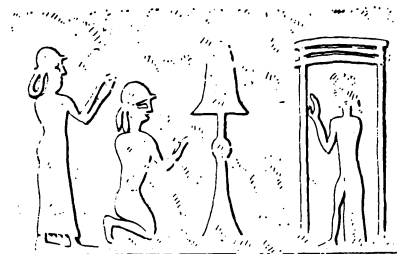
501. Ward 656



502. 13 Glyptik 69



503. 13 Glyptik 70



504. 13 Glyptik 71



505. 13 Glyptik 73



506. CANES 589



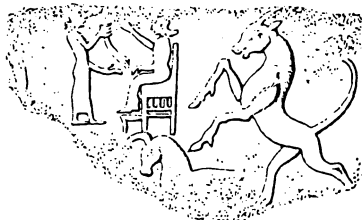
507. Parker 1974



508. Guimet 110



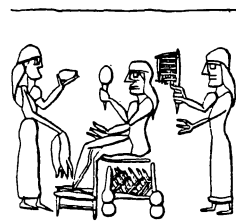
509. BM 132979



510. 12 Glyptik 38



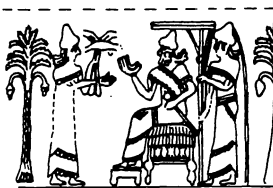
511. Adana 60



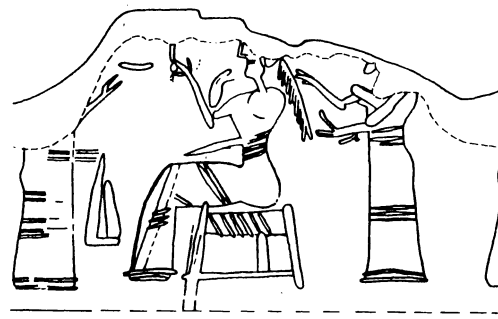
512. Louvre A780



513. Louvre A781



514. Porada 1971b, fig. 9



515. BM 125590



516. VR 527



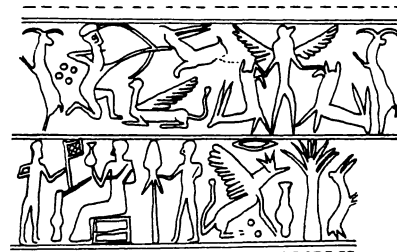
517. Porada 1971b, fig. 10



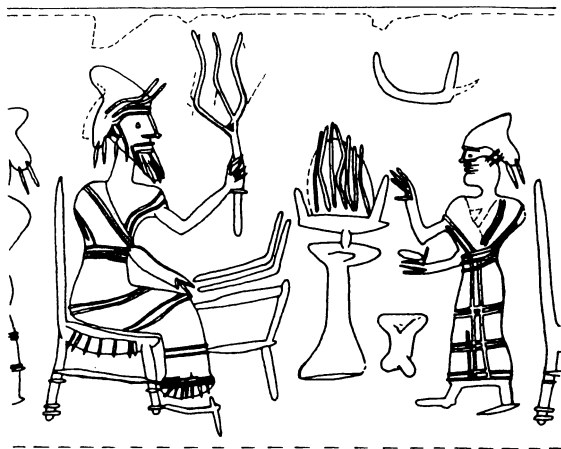
518. Collon 1987, no. 824



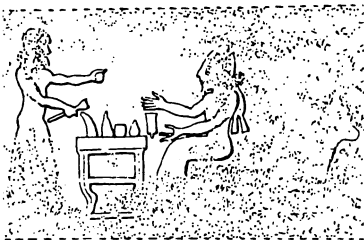
519. de Clercq 285



520. Iraq 11 - 122



521. BM 85486



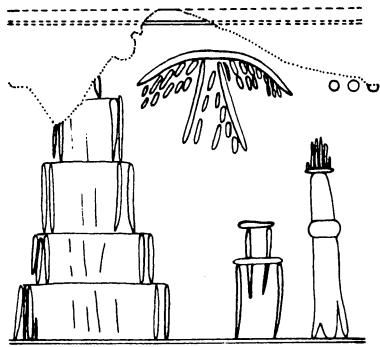
524. Moortgat Festschrift 2



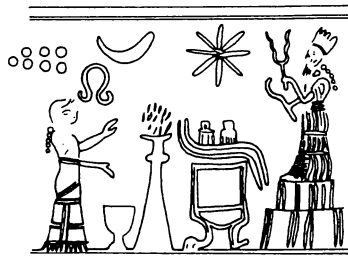
527. VR 592



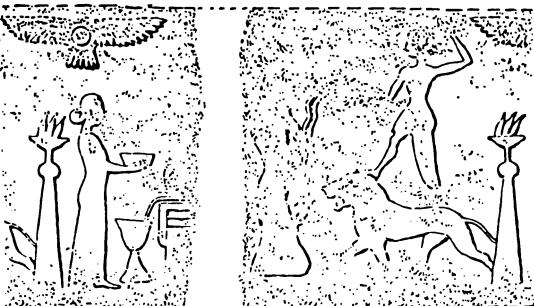
528. VR 591



532. Mohammed Arab 9



533. Porada 1979, fig. 14 (Tyre)



535. 12 Glyptik 36



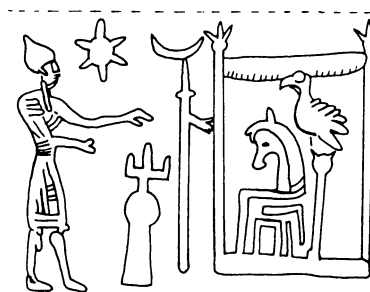
522. Moore 89



523. BM 89417



525. Fakhariyah II



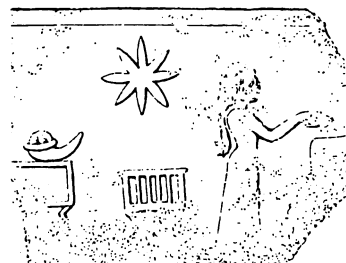
526. CANES 588



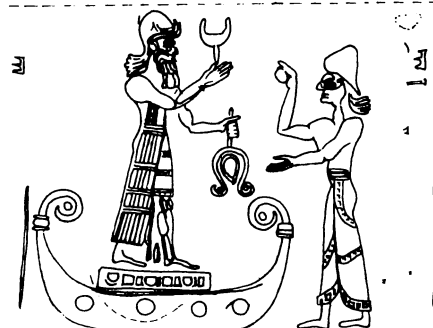
529. 12 Glyptik 45



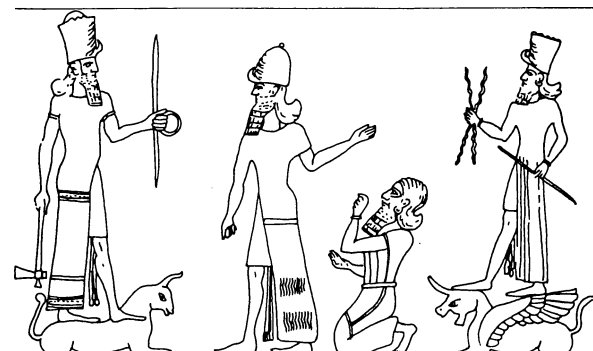
530. 12 Glyptik 46



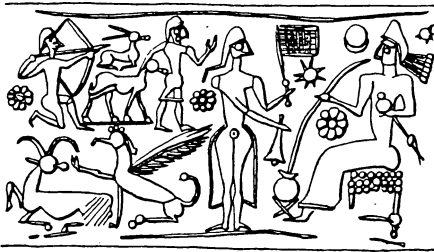
531. 12 Glyptik 37



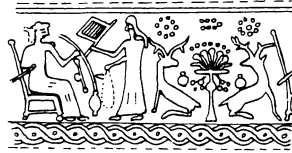
534. Özgüç 1987, no. 13 (Samsat)



536. Wiseman 1958, fig. 6 (Esarhaddon)



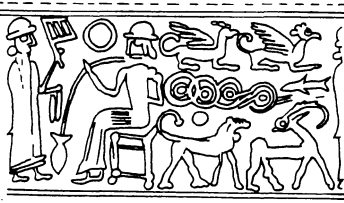
537. BM 89819



538. Brussels 1394



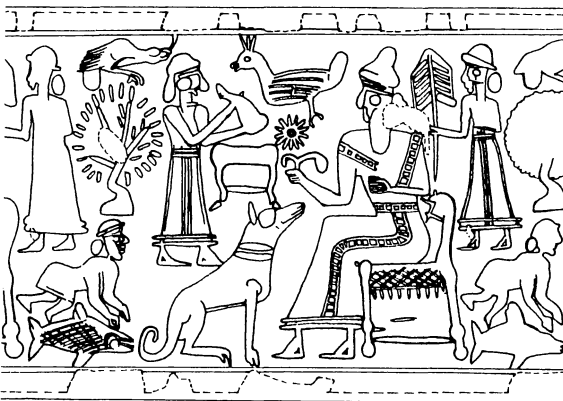
541. BM 89232



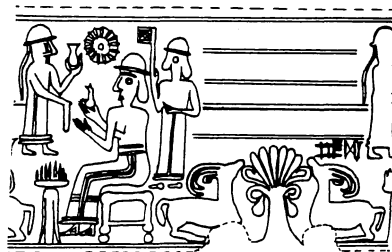
539. RS 29.116



540. Ward 741



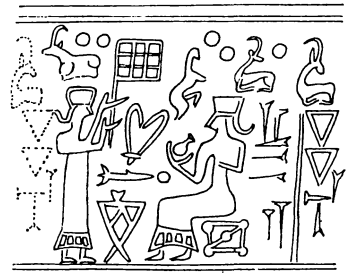
542. BM 134766



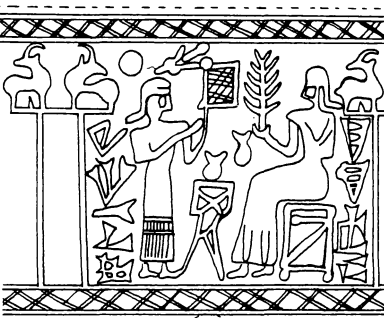
543. Porada 1970, figures annexes 8



544. Susa 2065



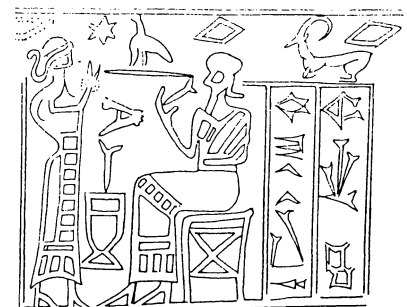
545. Choga Zanbil 73



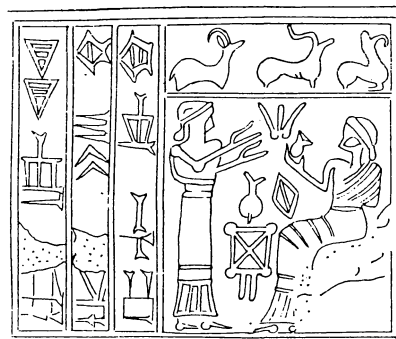
546. Susa 2057



547. Choga Zanbil 54



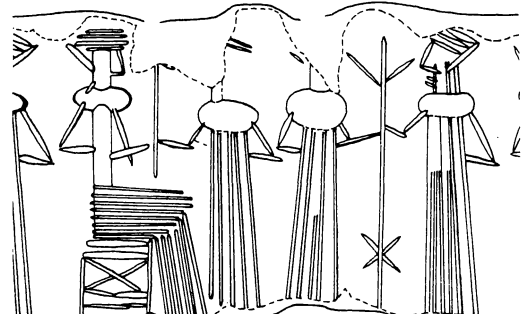
548. Choga Zanbil 56



549. Choga Zanbil 55



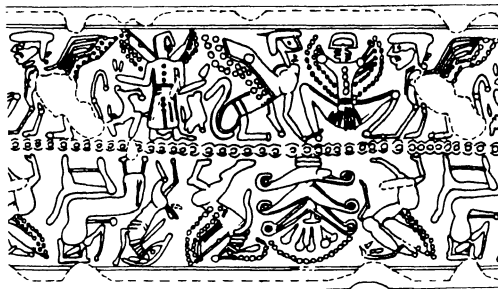
550. Collon 1987, no. 547 (Haft Tepe)



551. BM 89212



552. Newell 358



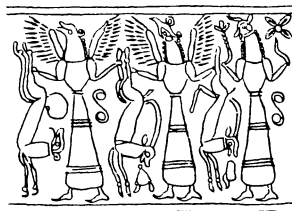
553. BM 89512



554. Louvre A1191



555. BN 478



556. BN 477



557. Fakhariyah XLIII



558. Newell 354



559. Kenna BM 36



560. Fakhariyah XLIV



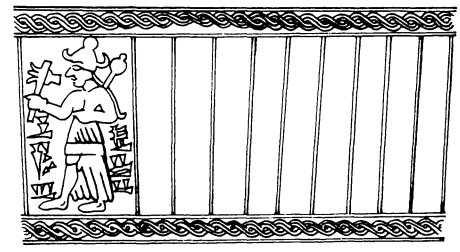
561. RS 5.089



562. Ugaritica III fig. 68



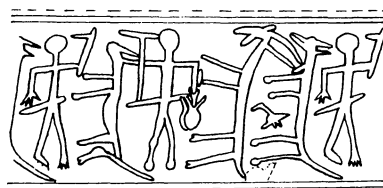
563. Ash 993



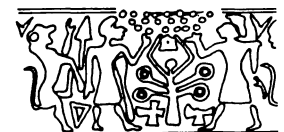
564. Ugaritica III fig. 30



565. Emar 14



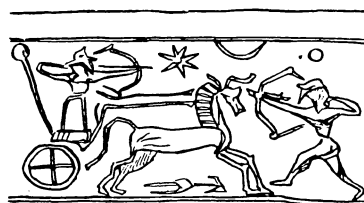
566. Guimet 128



567. Damascus 54



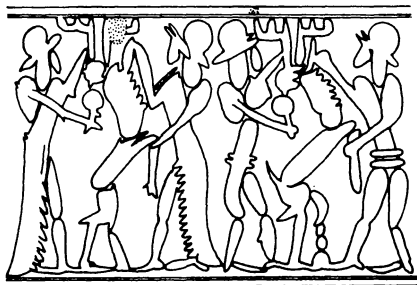
568. Collon BAR 80



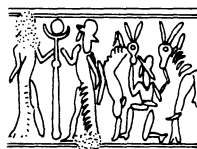
569. de Clercq 310



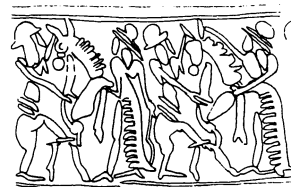
570. Moore 74



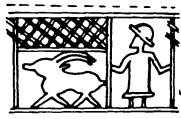
571. Mohammed Arab 3



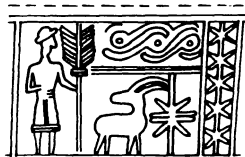
572. VR 565



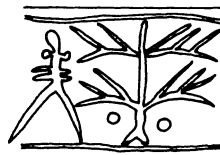
573. Yadin 1961, pl. 319:3



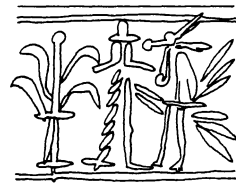
574. Iraq 11 - 39



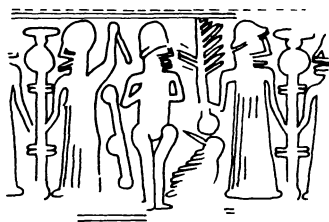
575. RS 14.83



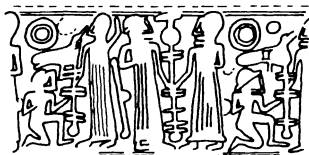
576. RS 8.152



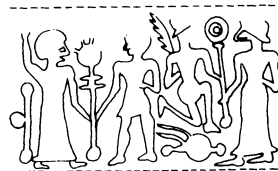
577. RS 19.187



578. Nuzi 1



579. Nuzi 2



580. Beyer 1985, fig. 1



581. RS 11.201



582. Ugaritica III fig. 99



583. CANES 1026



584. Brussels 848



585. Collon AOAT 213



586. Collon AOAT 216



587. Louvre A917



588. Collon AOAT 219



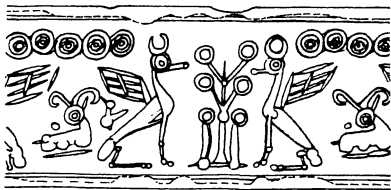
589. Byblos 1658



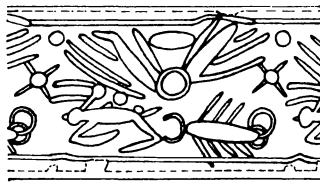
590. Collon AOAT 218



591. Saushtatar



592. BM 102540



593. BM 125809 (Brak)



594. Fakhariyah XLV



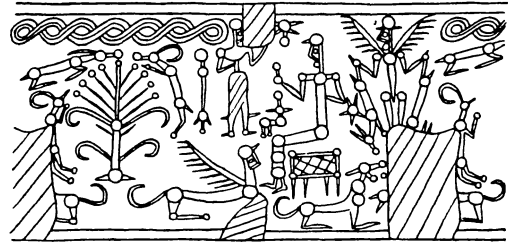
595. Marcopoli 588



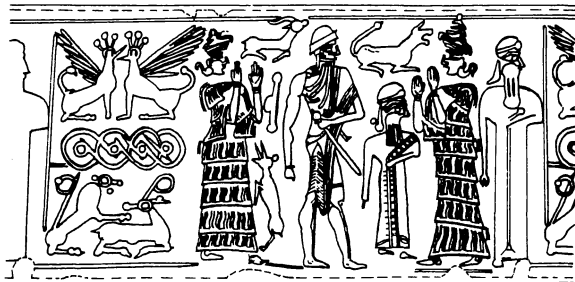
596. IM 10015



597. IM 13558



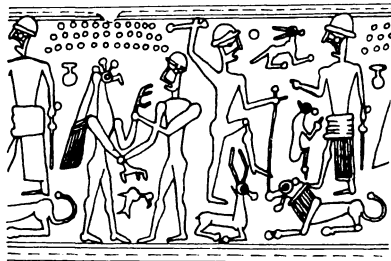
598. CANES 1030



599. BM 89315



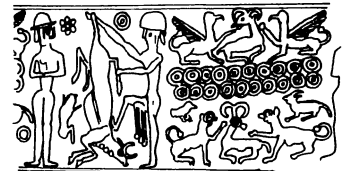
600. BM 89569



601. BM 102445



602. Brussels 1387



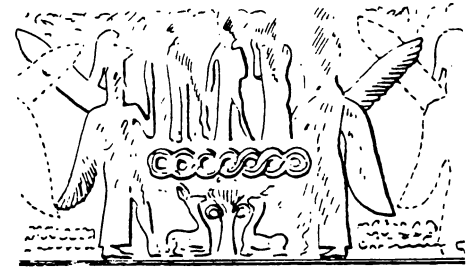
603. BN 440



604. Walters 54



605. 14 Glyptik 55



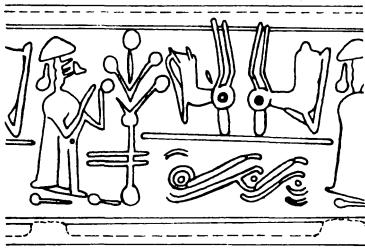
606. 14 Glyptik 54



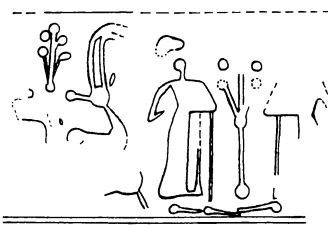
607. Thebes 24



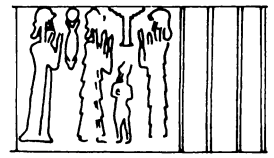
608. Frankfort 1939, text fig. 88 (Khanigalbat)



609. BM 125795 (Brak)



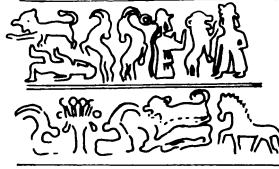
610. Ash 929 (Brak)



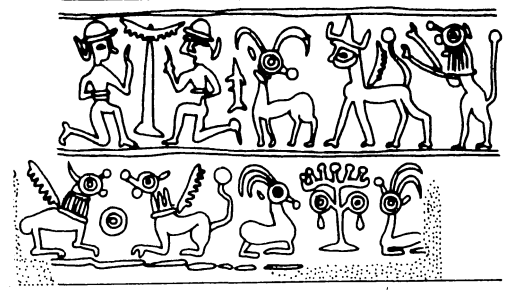
611. Nuzi 545



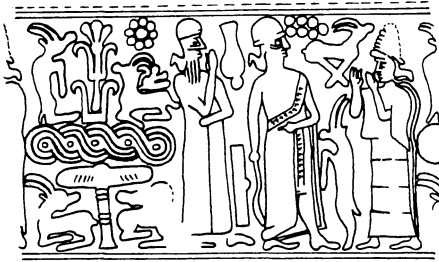
612. VR 575



613. Nuzi 483



614. Collon BAR 75



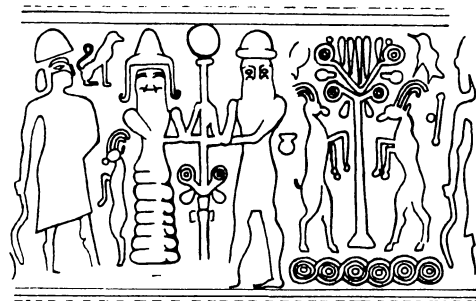
615. Nuzi 95



616. Nuzi 650



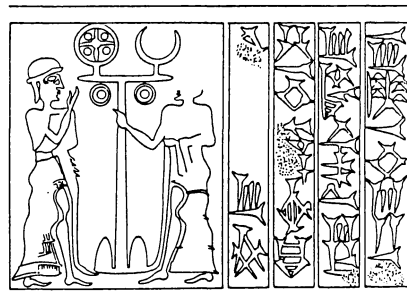
617. Ugaritica III fig. 46 (Amurru)



618. Amiet 1973, no. 434 (Ugarit)



619. Nuzi 651



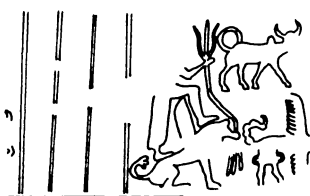
621. Itkhia



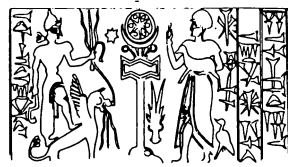
620. Nuzi 661



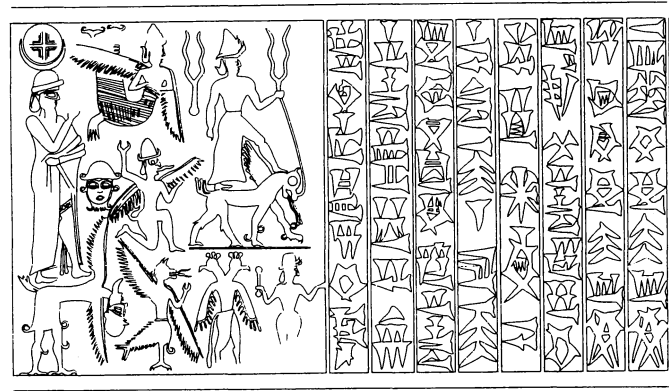
623. HSS XIV 272



624. Nuzi 730



625. HSS XIV 283



626. Itkhi-teshup

PHOTOGRAPHS

much inferior to its cultural importance; while the cultural influence of Egypt, though substantial, is small in relation to its international pre-eminence. The Palestinian states, though they were under Egyptian control for most of the period, adopted Mesopotamian glyptic conventions and even corresponded with their overlord in the cuneiform writing.

The international situation consisted of a series of great powers each surrounded by a number of lesser ones. Egypt and Babylon were great powers throughout the period, though Babylon experienced short foreign conquests. During the Dark Age of the middle of the millennium Mitanni was a third great power, but soon after it becomes possible to construct a proper history from the Amarna archive Mitanni was replaced as the dominant state in Syria by the Hittites. This political revolution, which was effected by Suppiluliumas I in the middle of the fourteenth century, marks the end of a millennium in which Syria was a major political and cultural entity in her own right, and the beginning of an even longer period in which the possession of Syria was one of the primary aims of any aspiring Near Eastern state.

From this time until the end of the thirteenth century the Hittites and Egypt were largely preoccupied with each other. This second phase in the history of the time saw the rise of first Assyria and then Elam at the expense of Babylon and the remains of Mitanni. The conquests of Suppiluliumas were a political catastrophe, not a cultural one, and the subsequent 150 years saw an extraordinary and fresh flowering of Near Eastern civilization, such as had not occurred since the Akkadian period a thousand years before.

The second phase ended as it began with military disasters. The Assyrians and the Elamites plundered Babylon; the whole west, including the Hittite empire, collapsed in the event or events known as the 'invasion of the Peoples of the Sea'; and Egypt, which itself only barely survived, lost contact with the Mesopotamian countries. There, however, Babylon recovered its independence, and with Elam and Assyria continued much as before, if in somewhat straitened circumstances, for another century or so, until in the eleventh century another Dark Age set in.

In the late third millennium a repertory of forms, especially arm types, was assembled in Babylonia which reached a fixed canonical form in the early second millennium. There is some reason to suppose that these forms were derived from the greater sculpture (e.g. the martial king occurs in the Stele of Naram-Sin several centuries before it became prevalent in glyptic). In the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries the Old Babylonian style flowered in a great variety of sub-styles, which, however, were rigidly constrained by the Babylonian standard. Some of these styles took root in foreign countries such as Elam and Mari, and Old Babylonian even impinged on the glyptic of Syria which in imagination and technique was its superior.

After the eighteenth century, unfortunately, the evidence becomes deficient. The rise of the drilled style was accompanied by a loss in quality, and in general terms the styles of the first phase of the later second millennium, ending in the fourteenth century, are still within the Babylonian standard. But First Kassite in Babylonia, and Mitannian in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, are both the products of thorough transformations which makes it difficult to define their exact ancestry among the Old Babylonian sub-styles.

The second phase, in the later fourteenth and the thirteenth century, saw the most glyptic variety. The Mitannian style continued without any discernible originality, and the spirit of First Kassite lingered on in pseudo-Kassite, but new styles emerged in Assyria, Babylonia (Second Kassite), Syria (Hittite), Elam and Cyprus. All of these regions except Elam produced glyptic of great originality and the highest quality, though the Mesopotamian styles were still within the general Mesopotamian tradition.²³

In the third phase there was survival, but not originality. Assyrian glyptic maintained its standards for at least a century, and spawned sub-Assyrian styles in Syria, Babylonia (Third Kassite) and Elam. But the older Elamite style also survived to affect the neo-Assyrian Linear style which began some time after 1100 BC. From then onwards, until the end of the cylinder seal in the Achaemenid period, all styles were more or less adaptations of Assyrian.

In this way the later second millennium is less a self-contained period in Mesopotamian history than a turning point. Just as the career of Sargon of Akkad coincided with the beginning of the Akkadian-Babylonian tradition which dominated Near Eastern art until its last rather pathetic appearance in pseudo-Kassite, so that of Suppiluliumas I marks the beginning of the Assyrian tradition which was to last almost as long. The changes between the Old Babylonian period and our first phase, or between the third phase and the neo-Assyrian period, are insignificant compared to those which took place within our period.

In this sense the developments of the fourteenth century constitute an artistic revolution which was more important than any other in Mesopotamian history after the Akkadian period. The immediate effect of that revolution was the substitution of a vibrant chaos of different styles in the place of the old and tired ones that had survived the Dark Age; and it was only with the temporary eclipse of Babylon and the permanent disappearance of the Hittite empire a century and a half later that Assyrian became the new standard.

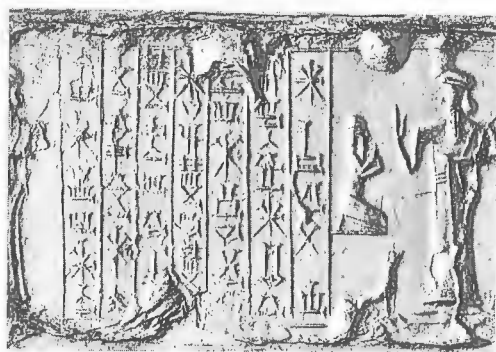
²³ In the same way that the Akkadian artistic revolution was effected without breaking the continuity of Mesopotamian culture.



4. CANES 579



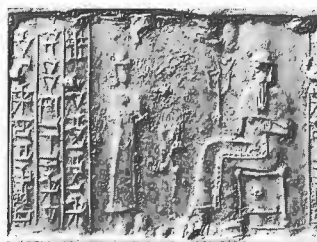
5. de Clercq 261



14. de Clercq 264



15. Brussels 422



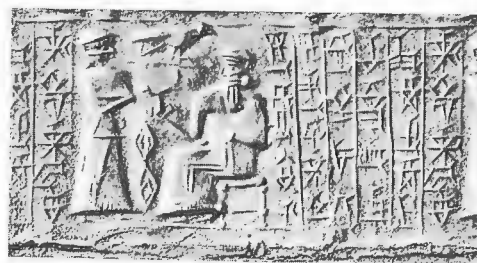
16. Ash 559



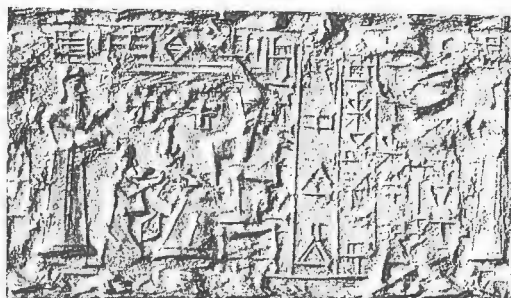
17. BM 89015



22. CANES 575



23. de Clercq 257



25. de Clercq 258



29. Wien-Graz 85



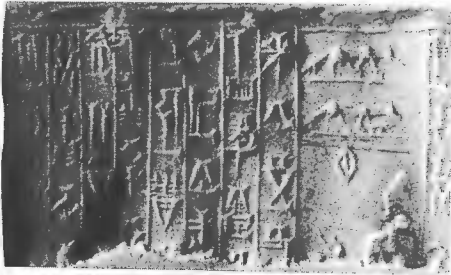
35. BM 89240



37. de Clercq 254



38. Louvre A606



43. IM 23584



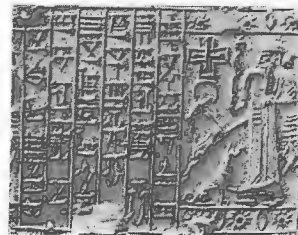
44. Ash. supp. 36



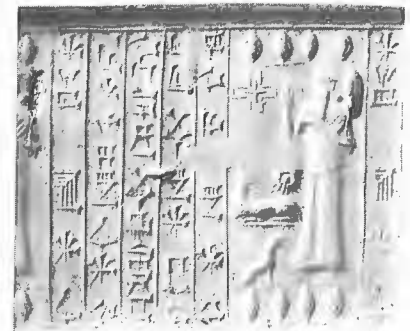
45. Lambert 1970, no.2



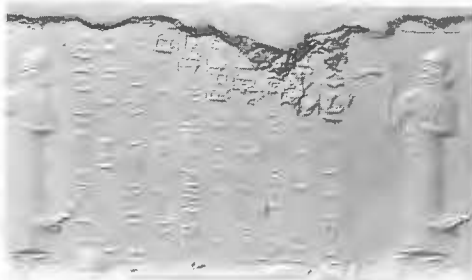
46. Brussels 425



49. BN 297



50. Hama fig. 188



59. CANES 576



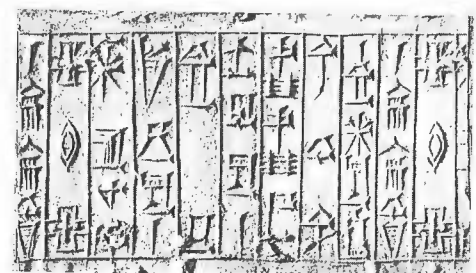
60. CANES 577



64. Louvre A601



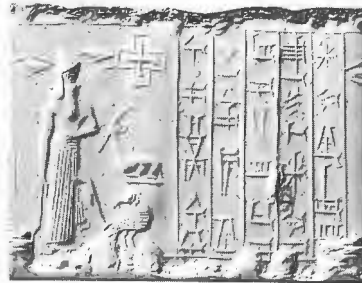
65. CANES 583



70. de Clercq 253



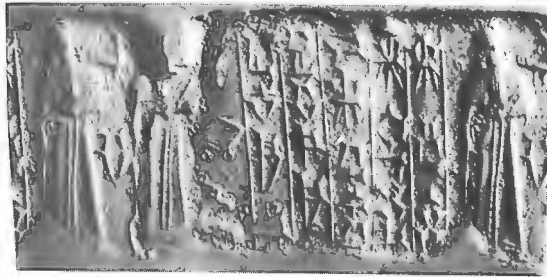
73. CANES 571



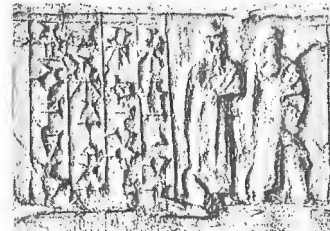
78. BM 89001



79. BIF 101 (ex-Schmidt 198)



80. Nimrud ND 5374



84. de Clercq 266



86. de Clercq 228



87. BM 89173



88. BM 89182



96. Ash 560



89. Birmingham 56



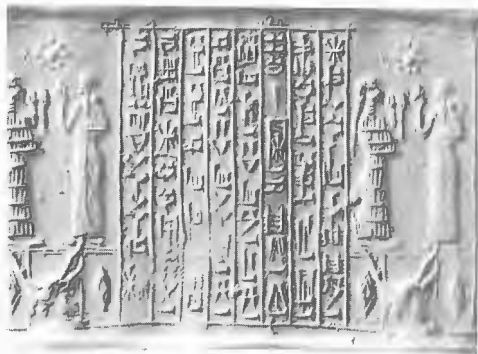
97. CANES 574



101. Ash. supp. 37



102. CANES 573



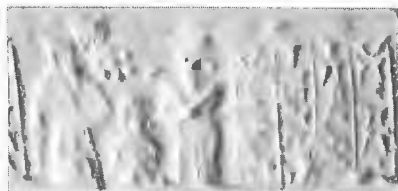
112. BIF 99 (ex-Schmidt 266)



114. Ash 558



115. Gulbenkian 58



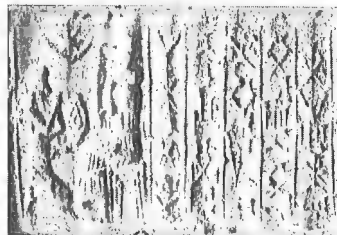
121. Gulbenkian 61



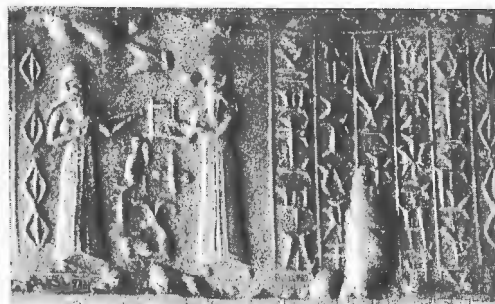
118. BM 89175



120. Copenhagen 77



125. Copenhagen 85



122. Louvre D56



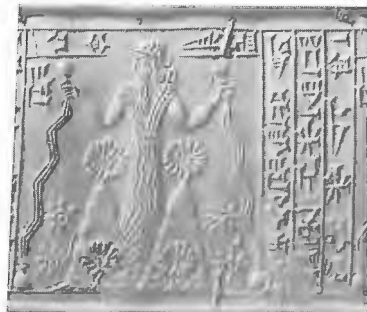
124. Collon 1987, no. 571 (Uluburun)



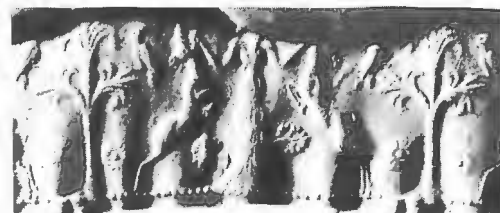
126. Ward 536



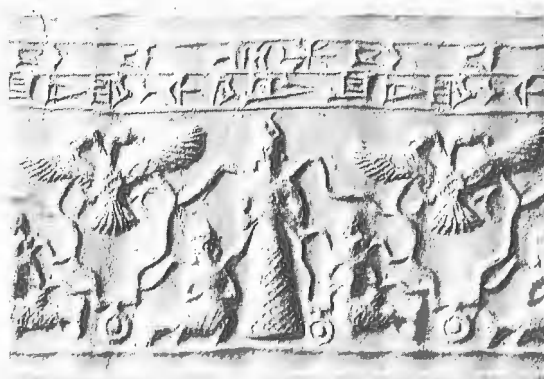
129. Thebes 27



130. Thebes 26



133. IM 22450



135. Ash 562



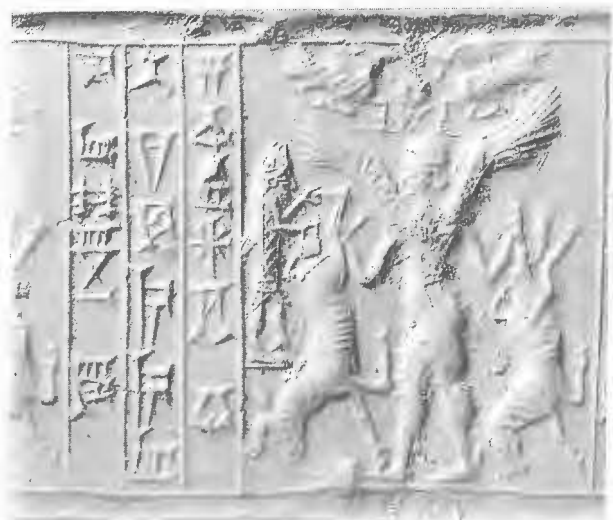
137. Thebes 28



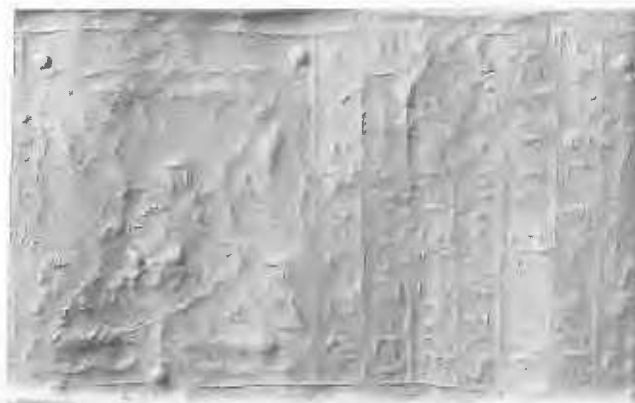
138. Thebes 31



139. BN 301



142. Thebes 30



140. CANES 586



145. Geneva 56



144. LBAF 428



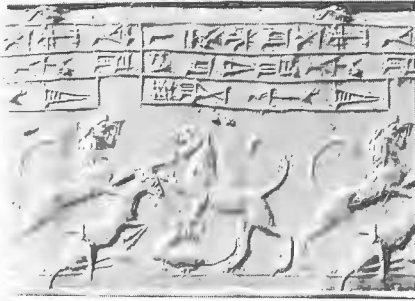
148. CANES 593



151. Louvre A620



152. Subeidi 19



153. BM 120949



154. Ash. supp. 39



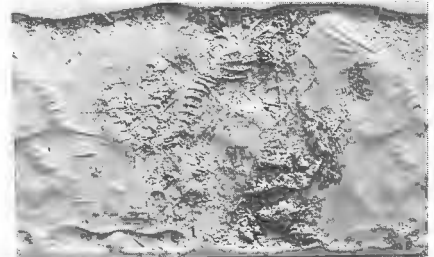
155. IM 21089



159. Thebes 37



164. Ladders 77



167. Hama fig. 190A



168. CANES 587



172. Louvre A695



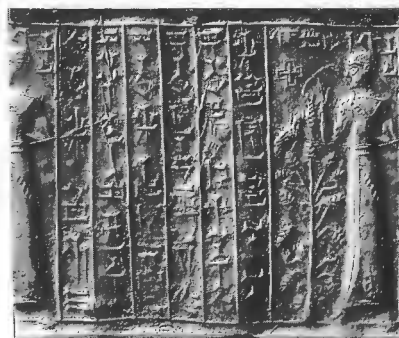
173. Copenhagen 109



179. IM 13839



186. Thebes 29



188. Thebes 32



189. Thebes 33



207. BIF 902 (ex-Schmidt 90)



210. CANES 591



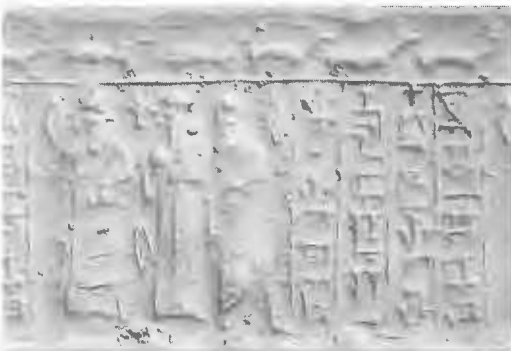
212. Ash 563



216. Louvre A692



218. BM 119197



227. Louvre A603



230. Louvre A604



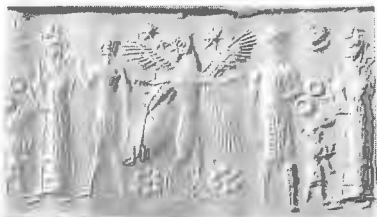
238. Louvre A605



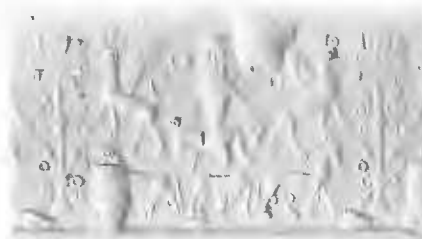
249. BM 134928



276. Choga Zanbil 92



285. Collon 1987, no. 570 (Uluburun)



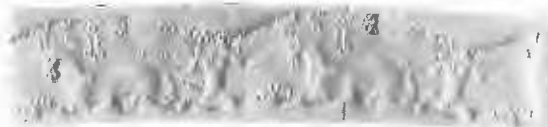
287. BM 134855



289. CANES 594



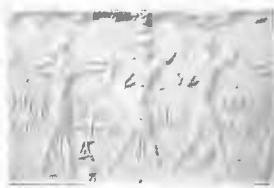
291. Wien - Graz 86



299. Iraq 37 - 48 (Rimah)



300. CANES 595



308. BN 367



309. de Clercq 369



332. CANES 600



333. BN 307



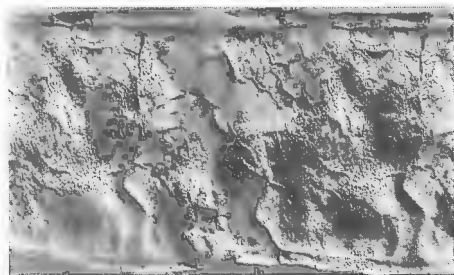
339. Ash. supp. 38



340. Marcopoli 142



341. Ash 569



342. Hama fig. 190B



346. CANES 599



345. CANES 596



350. Marlik 7



355. de Clercq 363



364. CANES 607



365. Wien - Graz 91



369. CANES 608



380. CANES 605



388. Ladders 79



396. CANES 606



412. BM 89625



416. Louvre A708



423. Gulbenkian 65



429. Ladders 81



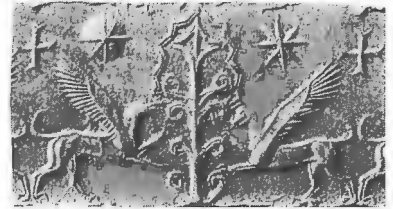
430. Marcopoli 138



432. Louvre A712



434. CANES 603



435. BN 385



437. CANES 602



439. Ash 568



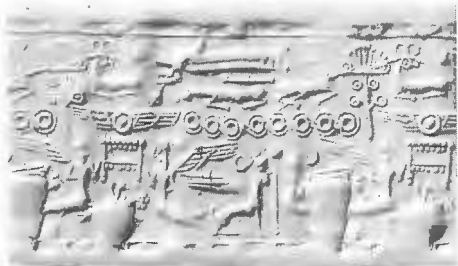
441. CANES 604



445. CANES 601



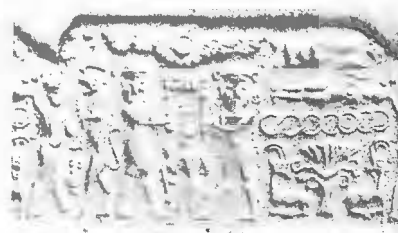
447. Ash 570



452. Ash. supp. 60



467. de Clercq 357bis



455. Louvre A951



479. Birmingham 58



480. CANES 598



481. Collon BAR 106



482. Collon BAR 108



491. Gulbenkian 64



493. CANES 609



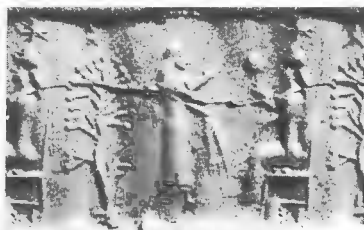
495. Thebes 23



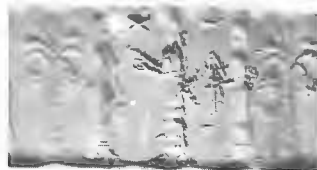
508. Guimet 110



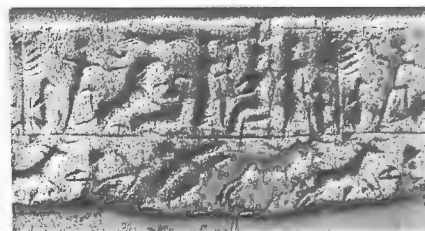
511. Adana 60



513. Louvre A781



518. Collon 1987, no. 824



519. de Clercq 285



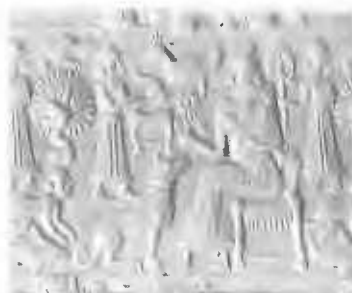
526. CANES 588



533. Porada 1979, fig. 14 (Tyre)



537. BM 89819



542. BM 134766



547. Choga Zanbil 54



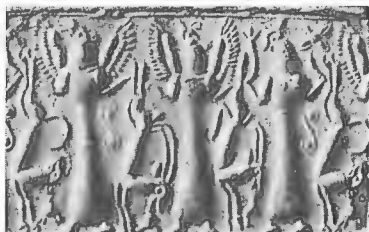
549. Choga Zanbil 55



551. BM 89212



555. BN 478



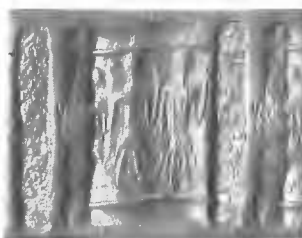
556. BN 477



561. RS 5.089



563. Ash 993



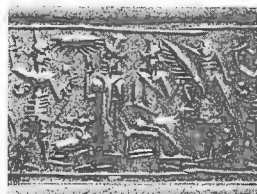
568. Collon BAR 80



576. RS 8.152



566. Guimet 128



587. Louvre A917



592. BM 102540



596. IM 10015



597. IM 13558



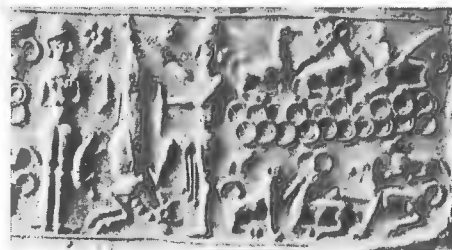
599. BM 89315



600. BM 89569



602. Brussels 1387



603. BN 440



609. BM 125795 (Brak)



614. Collon BAR 75

Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic
of the later second millennium BC.
by D.M. Matthews.

Summary.

The cylinder seals of this period are relatively few in quantity and belong to a larger number of different styles than in other comparable ages. This diverse and dispersed situation makes it necessary to be able to handle large amounts of information in a flexible way.

The *Introduction* begins by sketching some of the main characteristics of the period, with a short discussion of the terminology of 'Mitannian' seals. An enquiry into the theoretical background of the analysis proposes that the designs may either convey some meaning or else be intended primarily as ornament. In both cases a given style will have certain artistic conventions or rules, but in the former these conventions will be further constrained by restrictions which are not necessary from ornamental considerations. The conventions which are most easily analysed are those governing the combinations of design elements. A section on artistic conventions looks at how the designs were laid out on the surface of the cylinder and outlines the distributions of some human attributes and animal horn types which are referred to in the rest of the work by a summary code.

The *Old Babylonian chapter* is a summary study of the way in which seal designs of this major tradition were composed, looking only at standard combinations of human figures. The way in which the classic conventions were distorted and transformed in many styles in and around Mesopotamia is explored as a prelude to their final appearance in some Mitannian and Kassite styles. The progress of the tradition is summarised in terms of changes in syntactic complexity and in the preferred aspect of the 'King': the later styles have smaller, less complex scenes and tend to be more interested in 'martial' than in 'devotional' forms.

The *Babylonian chapter* begins with a brief survey of the four Middle Babylonian styles, First, Second, Third and pseudo-Kassite. It is proposed that pseudo-Kassite is a Babylonian style also found in Elam rather than an Elamite imitation of First Kassite. A detailed analysis of First Kassite follows, in which the human figures are found to be governed by a strict rule of orientation. They combine according to two sets of conventions. As this distinction can also be traced in the repertory of symbols and in the difference between the impressions from Nuzi and from Nippur, it is proposed that the style consists of two traditions, Northern and Central. It is suggested that the difference may be the consequence of a differing emphasis on the persons of the King and the God.

In the *Assyrian chapter* the designs are divided into Contest and Ritual scenes. A detailed chronological discussion of the former gives criteria for defining three phases in the thirteenth century. It is proposed that these phases show a development from a situation with few elements and scenes, which each had some specific meaning, to one where a larger number of elements were combined more or less at random to produce purely ornamental designs. The Ritual scenes are fewer in number and have complicated foreign relations, but an attempt is made to trace their development with respect to two sets of continuing concepts described as the Atlantid Scene and the Fan Scene.

A short *Conclusion* sketches the common aspects of the developments in Assyria and Babylonia at the end of the fourteenth century, and proposes that these are both manifestations of a fundamental revolution in art which substituted an Assyrian standard for the former Babylonian-Akkadian one. It cannot be shown at present where this revolution originated, and it was due to historical accidents at the beginning of the twelfth century that it was the Assyrian version that became dominant.

There are *illustrations* of 626 seals, of which about a quarter are also given as photographs. The Kassite and Assyrian styles are fully covered and a few examples are given of most of the other contemporary styles. A summary plate illustrates the code used in the book and another one covers the Old Babylonian chapter.